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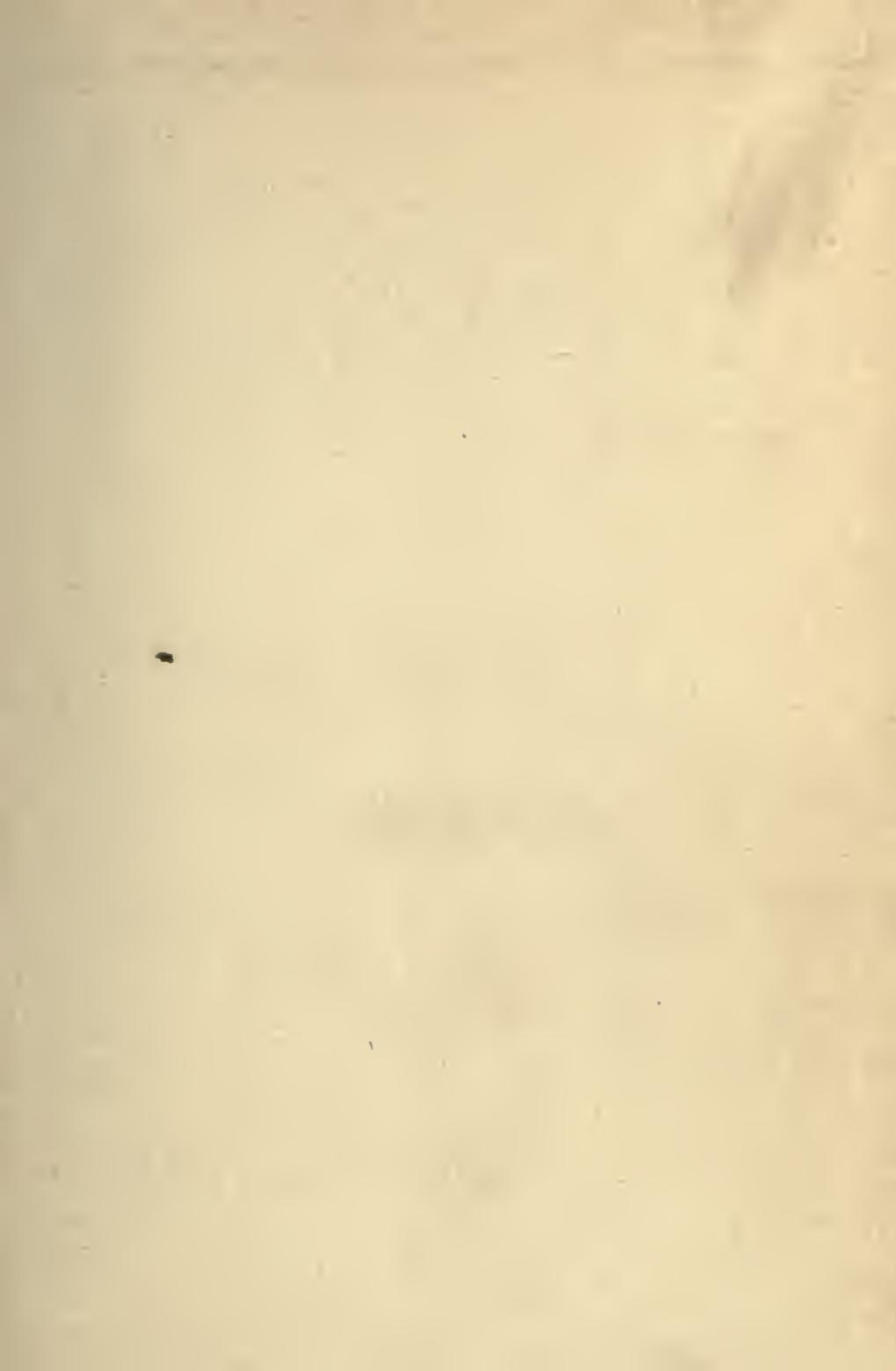
# DREYFUS AND THE SHAME OF FRANCE

G.M. STEVANS

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A very faint, light gray watermark-style illustration of a classical building with four columns and a triangular pediment occupies the background of the page.

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THE ACCUSED AVERRING HIS INNOCENCE

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# DREYFUS

AND THE

## SHAME OF FRANCE

INCLUDING

THE VIEWS OF ZANGWILL, ZOLA AND OTHER  
FAMOUS WRITERS, SCHOLARS  
AND STATESMEN

PREPARED BY

C. M. STEVANS



F. TENNYSON NEELY

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# Dreyfus and the Shame of France.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE GREAT ARMY SCANDAL OF FRANCE.

Russia has had its Siberian horrors, Turkey its Armenian atrocities, but France, brilliant France, at the head of nations in the glories of art, culture, and advanced civilization, surpasses all in the infamy of its great national scandals.

Russia has discarded its Siberian terrors and Turkey is maintaining order in Armenia, but France still has its disgraced system of justice.

From the Mississippi scheme, early in the preceding century, to the Panama scandal, the romance of French history exceeds in startling situations the romance of her novelists.

But it was reserved for the close of the nineteenth century to see the greatest travesty on justice yet recorded among enlightened nations.

As a human document, it is of surpassing interest; as an indictment against a nation, it is like a brilliant and graphic historical novel.

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### JUSTICE TO THE JEW.

This is the story of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a tragedy so appalling in its revelations of duplicity and the oppressions of governments that the heart chokes with horror and the mind staggers before the inhumanity of man to man.

Dreyfus was an Alsatian by origin, a German Jew whose people, coming under the French tricolor, swore allegiance to the government. Until 1894 the son was nothing more than a remarkably bright member of the general staff of the French army. He had wealth, a beautiful wife, children, many friends, many enemies.

### COMMENDED FOR ABILITY.

When in the war school of the government preparing for the army he was considered a phenomenon as a student. At the Polytechnic he was often commended for ability. Perhaps the praise so freely bestowed upon him turned his head a bit. It is said that when he entered the army he was proud of his successes, inclined to disdain, apt to look down upon those who failed. He was extremely ambitious. M. de Blowitz writes:

"He cherished magnificent dreams. Now and then he let some of them escape him. He endeavored to put himself en vedette, to dazzle his

chiefs, to rally about him all sorts of backers—to be, as the French say, quelquechose before being quelqu'un. He created about him an atmosphere of ill will and irony."

### CRY OF THE ANTI-SEMITES.

It was General Mirabel who first suggested that Dreyfus should have a place on the general staff of the army. It was Sandherr who protested, crying :

"But he is a Jew! You are not going to bring a Jew in here!"

Yet the Jew did enter, and he was keen to learn and understand, cherishing always some dream, never heeding the hostile attitude of the men who never wished him where he was.

So contemptuously did the general staff hold him that the expression which always passed when he was referred to was, "The Jew." It became a mania in the general staff offices to throw everything onto his shoulders.

"Has anyone seen a red note-book which I left on my table?" asked an officer of the staff one day.

"I saw the Jew sneaking about here," another immediately replied. "Ask him; he must have seen it."

### GENERAL STAFF'S ENMITY.

Thus day by day grew up in regard to him slowly but surely in the minds of the general staff officers a spirit of disdainful or hateful suspicion. Unconsciously he was preparing for himself his own doom.

This feeling of hatred toward him was strongest in the intelligence department of the army. This department is situated at an isolated point in the war office. One can enter there without being seen. There treason is announced and the rewards paid for revelations. There is the gold which goes to contemptible spies and there characters are made and unmade as vengeance or spite inspires men to lower themselves to a plane beneath the devils.

### FACES KEEN HATRED.

In this mysterious bureau Dreyfus met with the keenest hatred and suspicion. He was independent. He was in no need of money. He was of an inquisitive turn of mind. And it was into this bureau that he was sent to work, this bureau where he was looked upon as an enemy who had surreptitiously worked his way in. Truly, the spy department of the French government was well prepared to believe anything of him.

And Dreyfus—he went his way, confident that honor and fame awaited his efforts to become a “first” soldier of the republic.

#### NO MOTIVE FOR ALLEGED CRIME.

Throughout his military career the record of Captain Dreyfus was excellent. His promotions were won by diligence and discipline. He had a private fortune of more than moderate dimensions. His wife was wealthy in her own right. He had two young children. He had no debts. His affection for France was proved by his abandonment of his native soil when it passed from under the tricolor. There was an entire absence of motive for the crime of which he was soon to be accused. Such was the position of Alfred Dreyfus in 1894. His only fault was that he was a Jew. An agitation against Jews, beginning in Russia, had spread across Germany into France, and as early as 1892 had sufficient strength to establish newspapers devoted to its propagation.

There were leakages of army secrets in France, and on several occasions prior to 1894 the public had been angered to learn that important French military devices had been betrayed to Germany. In 1894 suspicions were aroused that there were traitors on the general

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staff, the center and soul of the national defense. Subsequent developments indicate that the traitors became convinced that a scapegoat must be found. There appeared to be a traitor in the bureau of military intelligence. Colonel Sandherr, the chief of that bureau, disliked Jews, and objected when Dreyfus was sent him as an assistant. Under such circumstances, it was easy for the real traitors, with or without Sandherr's connivance, to designate Dreyfus as the traitor.

In the summer of 1894 Jean Casimir-Perier was President of France. M. Dupuy was Premier. General Mercier was Minister of War. The military attaches of the German and Italian legations were Colonel Schwartzkoppen and Major Panizzardi. These two attaches were close personal friends. General Mercier was disliked by several radical factions, and early in the summer of 1894 the *Intransigeant*, the *Libre Parole*, the *Patrie*, and the *Presse* had opened fire on him on various grounds. With these conditions understood, the annals of the Dreyfus affair may begin.

### BEGINNING OF THE DRAMA.

In September, 1894, one of the spies of the intelligence department of the French war office brought to his employers a document, torn into

pieces, said to have been stolen from the German embassy, where at that time Colonel Von Schwartzkoppen was the military attache. The document was carefully put together by the intelligence officers and was shown to the chiefs, General Mercier, minister of war; General de Boisdeffre, the chief, and General Gonse, the assistant chief of the headquarters staff. At the head of the intelligence department was Colonel Sandherr and among his assistant officers was Commandant Henry. On the staff were three officers — Picquart, Du Paty de Clam and Dreyfus. Such was the personnel at the time when the fatal fragments stated to come from the German military attache's waste paper basket were brought into the war office. Put together they read as follows:

"Without news indicating that you wish to see me I am sending you, nevertheless, sir, some interesting information:

"1. A note on the hydraulic break of the 120 and on the way in which this piece behaved.

"2. A note on the covering troop (troupes de conversion). Some modifications will be entailed by the new plan.

"3. A note on a modification in artillery formations.

"4. A note relative to Madagascar.

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"5. The project for a firing manual for field artillery, March 14, 1894.

"This last document is extremely difficult to procure and I can only have it at my disposal for a very few days. The minister of war has sent a limited number of copies to the several corps and these corps are responsible for it; each officer is to send his copy back after the maneuvers. If, therefore, you will take from it what interests you and hold it afterward at my disposal I will take it unless you should desire that I should have it copied in extenso and then send you the copy. I am about to go to the maneuvers."

This is the first chapter of the Dreyfus case which troubled France and agitated the whole world during the closing years of the nineteenth century.

### STARTED BY ANTI-SEMITES.

It was to the ardent anti-Semite, Edouard Drumont, that the delightful news came in an anonymous letter, addressed to his editor, Mr. Papillaud, that a traitor had been discovered among the offices of the general staff at the ministry for war and that the traitor was a Jew. The anonymous correspondent hinted that search should be made among "the Dreyfuses, the

Mayers and the Levys," and that there the traitor would be found. On the last day of October, 1894, Papillaud received a letter giving the name of Captain Dreyfus as being the culprit and stating that he had been in the Cherche Midi prison since October 15. "People say he is traveling, but they lie, because they would like to smother the business. All Israel is astir. Tout a vous, Henry." The ardent Drumont plunged himself and his paper at once into a matter so congenial. He found that the arrest had actually taken place and that the charge was against an officer named Alfred Dreyfus, a Jew, of the intelligence department of the war office. He was accused of having sold documents to a foreign power, understood to mean Germany.

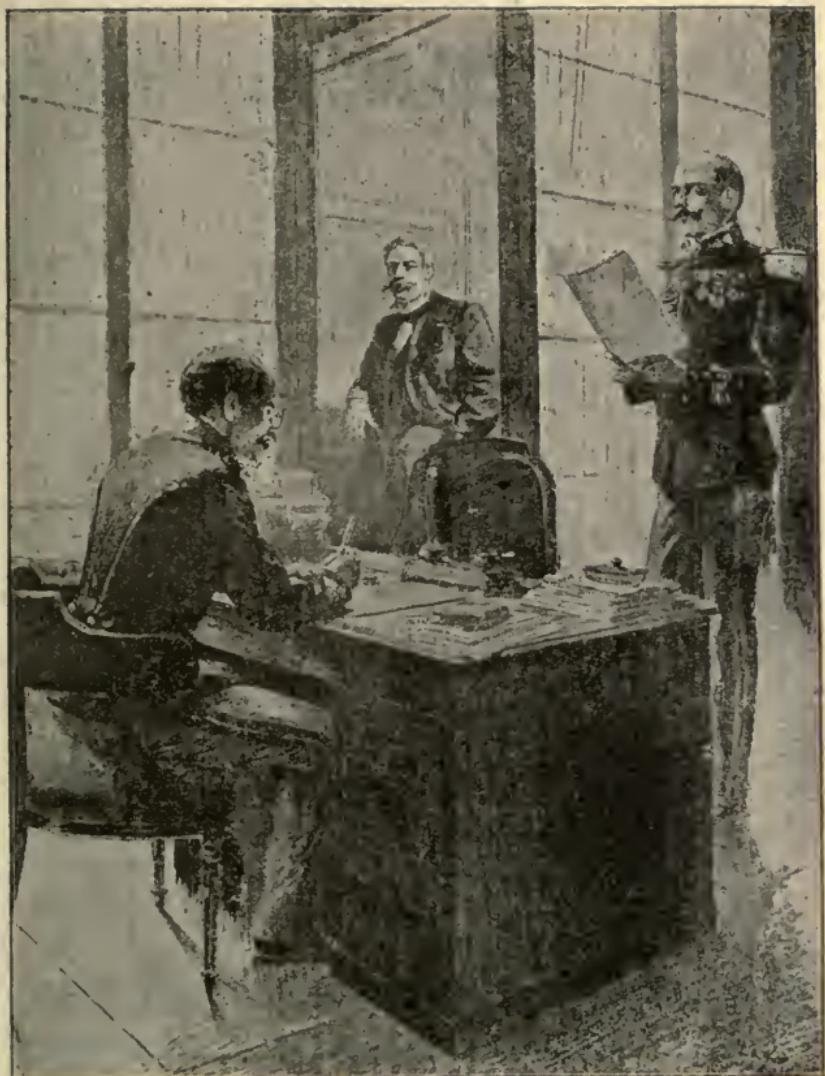
It subsequently came out that the arrest had been made on October 15 by Colonel Du Paty de Clam, an officer attached to the general staff, acting under the orders of General Mercier, minister of war; that Dreyfus had been imprisoned at the Cherche Midi jail, and that extraordinary precautions had been taken to keep the arrest secret from the public and even from his own family. His wife, it was said, was terrified into silence by Colonel Du Paty de Clam. Paris became more and more interested and eventually excited over the affair. No one at that time,

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however, realized how important an event had occurred, and the newspapers continued to give what details they could under the title of "le traitre" (the traitor). All kinds of rumors were afloat. According to some the accused man had supplied an Italian officer with plans for the mobilization of the army corps stationed near the Italian frontier; important documents had been missed by the minister of war. Others asserted that mobilization plans had been communicated to Germany and Austria. There was a general demand that the minister of war should make the whole truth public without delay.

### CABINET COUNCIL IS HELD.

Finally, on November 1, 1894, a cabinet council was held, at which General Mercier, the minister of war, stated that he had advised the military governor of Paris to conduct an inquiry into the case of Captain Alfred Dreyfus of the Fourteenth regiment of artillery, attached to the general staff of the army, charged with having divulged to a foreign country the contents of secret documents belonging to the ministry of war. On the following day the French government did a deed which was worthy of the secret machinations of the Venetian council of ten in



#### THE TRAP SET FOR DREYFUS

Colonel du Paty de Clam dictating to Captain Dreyfus the test letter in which some of the terms of the Bordereau were mentioned. Captain Dreyfus was then and there arrested by M. Cochesert, the chief of the detective service.



the middle ages. Colonel Panizzardi, the Italian military attache in Paris, had been freely spoken of in Paris as being implicated in the treachery of Dreyfus, Italy as well as Germany being one of the bugbears of the French. On November 2, the day following the announcement of the arrest of Dreyfus, the French government intercepted a telegram from Panizzardi to his government begging that if they had no relations with Dreyfus the Italian ambassador in Paris might be instructed to publish a denial in order to avoid remarks in the press. The telegram was suppressed from Dreyfus and his counsel by order of General Mercier and only came to light long after the revision movement had begun.

Dreyfus was, after his arrest, at once taken to the Cherche Midi military prison, of which Major Forzinetti was the governor. Commandant Henry, who, with the detectives, escorted Dreyfus to the prison, gave Forzinetti an order from the minister of war according to which Captain Dreyfus, accused of high treason, was not to be entered on the prison register; he was to be kept in secret confinement and not to be allowed to communicate with any but the chief warder and Forzinetti, and he and the chief warder were strictly prohibited from divulging to anyone the fact of the arrest.

## NARRATIVE OF FORZINETTI.

Forzinetti has related what passed in the prison before the court-martial was held, and his narrative is one of the most interesting and most terrible of all the documents connected with the case. "On October 14, 1894," he says, "I received a confidential dispatch from the war office. It informed me that on the following morning a field officer would call at the prison in order to acquaint me with a secret communication. On the 15th Lieutenant Colonel D'Aboville, in full uniform, handed me a dispatch, informing me that Captain Dreyfus of the Fourteenth regiment of artillery, serving on the general staff of the army, would be imprisoned on the charge of high treason, and that I was personally responsible for his safe custody. Colonel D'Aboville asked me to give my word of honor that I would strictly carry out the minister's injunctions. The prisoner was to have no sort of communication with the outer world and was to have neither knife, paper, pen or pencil. He was to be treated in the matter of food as an ordinary criminal, but this order was canceled upon my remark that it was illegal. The colonel, without going into particulars, ordered me to take whatever precautions I might deem necessary to prevent the fact of the pris-

oner's arrest being known in the prison or outside. He asked to see the cells set apart for officers, and selected one for Captain Dreyfus. He told me to be on my guard against the intrigues of the Haute Juiverie as soon as the news of arrest should reach their ears. I saw nobody and nobody attempted to get at me. I never visited the prisoner except in company of the chief warder, who alone had the key of the cell. Nobody saw the prisoner during his detention except in my presence. When, after his arrival, I went to see the prisoner he was in a state of excitement impossible to describe—like a madman. His eyes were bloodshot, and he had upset everything in his room. I was able at length to quiet him. I felt that he was innocent."

#### EXAMINED BY PATY DE CLAM.

"Major Du Paty de Clam," continues Forzinetti, "who had arrested Dreyfus at the war office, called from the 18th to the 24th with the special authority of the minister of war (Mercier) to examine the prisoner. The major asked me whether he could not enter Dreyfus' cell noiselessly with a bull's eye sufficiently powerful to throw a flood of light on the face of the prisoner, whom he wanted to take by surprise in order to upset him. I said it was not possible. He

examined the prisoner twice, and each time dictated to him sentences taken from the famous document (the bordereau) in order to compare the two writings.

### DREYFUS' MENTAL AGONY.

"During the whole of this period Captain Dreyfus was in a state of terrible excitement. In the hall one could hear him moaning, crying, talking aloud, protesting his innocence. He knocked against the furniture, against the walls, and did not seem aware of the injuries he was inflicting upon himself. He had not a moment's rest, and when overcome with fatigue and agony he lay, dressed, on his bed. His sleep was haunted by horrible nightmares. He had such convulsions during his sleep that he sometimes fell on the floor. During this agony of nine days he took nothing but beef tea and a little wine with sugar.

### DE BOISDEFFRE "LOOKS ANNOYED."

"On the 24th, in the morning, his mental state, bordering on insanity, seemed so serious that, anxious to screen my responsibility, I reported it to the minister of war (Mercier) and to the governor of Paris. In the afternoon I was summoned by General de Boisdeffre, and accom-

panied him to the war office. The general asked me my opinion. I replied without hesitation that Dreyfus was not guilty. General de Boisdeffre entered the minister's room alone, and, coming out again, looking annoyed, he said to me, 'The general is leaving Paris to attend his niece's wedding, and gives me full powers during his absence. Try and keep Dreyfus alive until his return, and the minister will do what he pleases.' General de Boisdeffre told me to send the prison doctor to Dreyfus. He prescribed some soothing drugs.

#### DU PATY DE CLAM AGAIN.

"Major Du Paty de Clam called nearly every day after the 27th to examine Dreyfus and to get new specimens of his handwriting. His real object was to wring an admission of guilt, against which Dreyfus never ceased to protest.

#### "MY ONLY CRIME IS TO BE BORN A JEW."

"After the verdict Dreyfus was taken back to his cell, where I saw him about midnight. On seeing me he burst into sobs, and said, 'My only crime is to be born a Jew.' His despair was such that I was afraid for his mind, and had him watched day and night.'

"A DREADFUL MISTAKE."

"I have been for many years at the head of military prisons, and have some knowledge of prisoners, and I can assert emphatically that a dreadful mistake has been committed. My superiors have known my opinion from the first. Several generals and statesmen are just as certain as I am of Dreyfus' innocence, but cowardice prevents them from speaking."

Thus did Forzinetti, who is a gentleman and no coward, frankly give his opinion and risked thereby the ruin of his career.

THE COURT-MARTIAL.

Dreyfus was tried by court-martial at the Cherche Midi prison on December 19, 1894. It was a trial with closed doors and no allusion was permitted to documents. Early in the morning the accused man was brought before his judges. Colonel Maurel-Pries was president of the court. The other members were Lieutenant-Colonel Echemann, Commandants Florentine, Patron and Gallet, Captains Roche and Freystaetter. Commandant Brisset prosecuted on behalf of the government. There was much anxiety among the public to catch sight of the prisoner, and the approaches to the court were

crowded. The high rank of the accused, and the serious charges alleged against him, charges which always appeal to the most violent passions of the French—the very word “treason” throws them into paroxysms—had aroused the attention of the whole country. Special precautions were taken to prevent any disturbance, and Dreyfus was, in fact, removed from the prison to the court before the crowd had assumed large proportions. The court was filled with officers of all arms and grades, and some fifty reporters were allowed to be present. Profound silence reigned in the hall as Dreyfus, preceded by the adjutant apparitor and escorted by Republican guards, entered. Something like a thrill of emotion passed through the audience as the prisoner, tall and soldierly in appearance, advanced firmly to the bench set apart for him and bowed to the court. It was noticed, however, that his eyes were filled with tears, and that he preserved his self-control with difficulty. The president then opened the trial with an interrogation of the prisoner, who stated that his name was Alfred Dreyfus; that he was thirty-five years of age, and was a captain of artillery; born at Mulhouse in Alsace. The president then called upon Major Brisset, who rose and requested that the proceedings might be conducted with closed doors, on the ground

that publicity would be "against the public interest." This was opposed by Maitre Demange, counsel for Captain Dreyfus, who submitted his reasons why the trial should be public. The president, however, forbade the advocate to make any reference to the actual matter of the charge against the prisoner. Then ensued a long discussion between the representative of the prisoner, the president of the court, and the government commissioner. "There are other interests at stake," exclaimed Major Brisset, "than those of the defense and of the prosecution." Maitre Demange, the counsel for Dreyfus, on referring to the "solitary document," was cut short by the president of the court; upon his continuing to refer to it the court rose. On resuming a quarter of an hour afterwards the court reprimanded Maitre Demange for having insisted upon "raising the discussion of the essentials of the case" and pronounced for closed doors.

#### WITH CLOSED DOORS.

The court was cleared and the trial was continued in private, the witnesses being Du Paty de Clam, Colonel Henry of the intelligence department, and three experts in handwriting, Pelletier, Charavay and Teyssoniere. The indictment,

which was prepared by Major d'Ormescheville, was read, and the experts were examined at length. Pelletier denied the identity of Dreyfus' handwriting with that of the bordereau; Charavay thought they were written by the same hand, but afterwards said that he "would never have any one condemned to imprisonment for life on that expertise of his." Du Paty de Clam described the different experiments he had made on Dreyfus, and his various observations of his conduct, such as "nervous movements of the foot when interrogated," and "trembling" when asked to do some copying from dictation, one of the documents dictated being a duplicate of a missing document. Colonel Henry said he was persuaded of the guilt of the prisoner, for reasons apart from those which appeared in the indictment, and when pressed to speak out he exclaimed: "I am a soldier, and my cap must ignore what is in my head."

#### IMPRISONMENT FOR LIFE AND DEGRADATION.

The verdict, anxiously awaited by the crowd outside, was given late in the evening. The president of the court read it out by gaslight to the prisoner. The verdict was "Guilty," and

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the sentence was perpetual imprisonment in a fortified place and military degradation.

### THE DEGRADATION.

The degradation of the unhappy man was carried out at the Ecole Militaire on January 5, 1895. The symbols of his rank were stripped from him; his sword was broken. "Dreyfus," exclaimed the general in command, "you are unworthy to bear arms. In the name of the French people we degrade you." Dreyfus raised his arms, and, with head erect, cried, "I am innocent. I swear that I am innocent. You degrade an innocent man." The crowd replied with a fierce shout of "A mort! A mort!" "Death to him!" Passing a group of reporters on his shameful forced march round the square before the assembled troops, Dreyfus said to them, "You will tell France that I am innocent." "Hold your tongue, miserable," was the reply, "Traitor! Judas! Dirty Jew!" was the clamorous and re-echoing cry roaring in his ears from the vast throngs.



### THE DEGRADATION: THE LAST ACT OF THE CEREMONY

After his uniform had been stripped of all marks of his rank, and his sword had been broken, the unhappy officer was made to march round the barrack square in front of the troops. He preserved his fortitude in an extraordinary degree, and never seemed to falter.



## CHAPTER II.

### DEPORTATION TO DEVIL'S ISLAND.

And so, amid insults and jeers and scoffs, the "traitor" in his stripped uniform was handed over to the gendarmes, stepped into the prison van which awaited him and passed on to his doom—life-long imprisonment on an island, one of the Iles du Salut, off the coast of Guiana, known as the Island of the Devil. He disappeared from France and Europe; disappeared, as his judges and persecutors thought, forever—and the thought pleased them well; disappeared into a living grave. But he left upon the brink of it a wife and a few—a very few—friends. To her, before he was put on board the ship bound for the Devil's Island, he wrote the following letter:

"In promising you to live, to keep firm until my name is rehabilitated, I have made you the greatest sacrifice that a man of feeling—a man of honor—from whom they have torn his honor, can make. Provided only that God help me, that my physical strength does not leave me.

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The will is there and my conscience, which reproaches me with nothing, bears me up. So then, my darling, do all in the world you can to find the true culprit; never relax your efforts for a moment. It is my only hope."

The wife was true to this solemn charge.

The war office, Mercier, Sandherr, Gonse, De Boisdeffre, Henry, Du Paty de Clam, were well pleased with the result of the court-martial. Sandherr (since dead) pronounced it to be the chef d'ouvre of the headquarters staff. Major Du Paty de Clam was promoted to a colonelcy.

Two years passed, during which that not unusual event in France, a change of ministry, occurred. Meline became premier, Hanotaux foreign minister, Lebon colonial minister. General Billot succeeded Mercier at the war office. Colonel Picquart was now head of the intelligence department. To him was brought one day in March, 1896, as had been brought before to Sandherr, the alleged produce of a spy's rummaging in waste paper baskets at the German embassy. It was a postcard, known as a petit bleu, torn into fragments. When put together it read as follows:

"I await before everything a more detailed explanation than that which you gave me the other day upon the question at issue. I beg you, there-

fore, to give it to me in writing, so that I can judge if I may continue my relations with the firm of R—— or not."

The card was directed to "M. le Commandant Esterhazy, 27, Rue de la Bienfaisance."

#### ENTRANCE OF ESTERHAZY.

Who was "M. le Commandant Esterhazy?" That was quickly found out; he was a major of infantry and with an unfavorable record. Picquart continued his researches and obtained specimens of Esterhazy's writing. It was the writing of the bordereau. Bertillon, the expert who had "identified" the writing of the bordereau with the writing of Dreyfus, pronounced the specimen of Esterhazy's writing which Colonel Picquart showed him to be the writing of the bordereau. Picquart himself became convinced that Esterhazy was the writer of the document which had ruined Dreyfus. He appealed to Generals Gonse and De Boisdeffre. "It is my duty to assure you," he said, "that it is necessary to act at once." Unfortunately the generals were of opinion, it would seem, that "if nothing were said nobody would be any the wiser." But there were two men in the war office who were dismayed at Picquart's discovery, Du Paty de Clam and Commandant Henry. General Billot,

who was now minister of war, remained immobile.

With the advent upon the scene of Picquart and Esterhazy the *affaire Dreyfus* entered upon a new phase. The public, who up to that time knew little or nothing, began to know something; the persecutors of Dreyfus became conspirators. Picquart had arisen as the champion of innocence. The headquarters staff and those of the intelligence department concerned in the condemnation of the prisoner of the Ile Du Diable set to work to counteract Picquart. The active conspirator was Henry. Dreyfus must be further discredited, Esterhazy must be protected. Picquart must be headed off. Billot, the war minister, had been impressed by Picquart's discoveries. The line of action taken by the conspirators was to prejudice him against Picquart and to furnish fresh and convincing proof against Dreyfus. Thenceforth the *affaire* becomes a maze of intrigue and lying and forgery. The deadly mæmra of the Dreyfus case began to unfold itself before France.

#### CAMPAIGN OF CONSPIRATORS.

The conspirators' campaign began in the press. In September, 1896, there appeared in the *Eclair* an article stating that Dreyfus had

been really convicted on documents secretly communicated to the court-martial and that one of these actually mentioned Dreyfus by name, as it contained the words "Decidement cet animal de Dreyfus devient trop exigeant." [This was a false quotation, the original being "ce canaille de D——," no name being given.] This was the first intimated to the public that there was a secret dossier, secretly communicated to the judges, and it told in the public mind rather in favor of Dreyfus than against him. It was at this time also that Bernard Lazare brought out his first pamphlet in favor of the innocence of Dreyfus.

Upon this Mr. Castelin, deputy for the Aisne, gave notice of an interpellation of the government, to be made on November 18, 1896. It became, therefore, essential that War Minister Billot should make up his mind, for it was he that would have to deal with the interpellation in the chamber.

Henry was equal to the occasion. As was afterward known, he forged the necessary document for the strengthening of Billot's mind. It was a note (in atrocious French) from Panizzardi, the Italian, to Schwartzkoppen, the German attache, and it read as follows:

"My Dear Friend: I read that a deputy is

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going to interpellate upon Dreyfus. If \* \* \* I shall say that I never had relations with that Jew. That is agreed. If you are asked say likewise, for no one must ever know what has passed with him."

Henry showed this precious production to De Boisdeffre and Gonse, and they showed it to Billot; none of them showed it to Picquart. Billot, however, referred to it in conversation with Picquart, who at once challenged its authenticity. But it was good enough for Billot. He went to the chamber, stated solemnly that the Dreyfus court-martial was "regularly composed," that the appeal was unanimously rejected, that the affair was a chose jugee and that the reasons of state which necessitated, in 1894, the hearing of the case in camera had lost none of their weight.

Picquart was then got rid of by being sent on a "mission," first to Nancy, then to Besancon and the Alps, then to Algiers and finally to the extreme south of the frontier of Tunis, where he was appointed to the command of the Fourth regiment of Algerian sharpshooters, General Gonse oracularly remarking that Picquart had been "hypnotized by the Dreyfus-Esterhazy question." Colonel Henry, victorious so far over Picquart, succeeded him as chief of the intelligence department. Picquart's friends were not

told where he was and his letters were opened by the war office before being sent on to him.

In May, 1897, Picquart wrote to Henry deprecating the mystery which was made as to his whereabouts in Paris. Henry wrote back to the effect that the mystery was the result of his own action in opening letters in the post, in attempting to suborn officers to speak of a certain writing being that of a certain person, with other allusions which so alarmed Picquart that he came to Paris on leave, saw M. Leblois, his friend and lawyer, and placed in his hands Henry's letter and correspondence he had had with General Gonse. He then returned to his duty in Tunis. The proposed inquiry as to Esterhazy on the lines of Picquart's idea was dropped. All seemed to be going on just as the conspirators wished.

### THREE NEW CHAMPIONS APPEAR.

But the friends, the syndicate, as the anti-Semites sneeringly called it, of Dreyfus were active. His wife and they had not forgotten his despairing cry, "It is my only hope." M. Scheurer-Kestner, vice-president of the senate, and an Alsatian countryman of Dreyfus, arose as a defender of right and justice. With him M. Matthieu Dreyfus, the prisoner's brother, united in the denunciation of Esterhazy, and,

later, Emile Zola, joined the thin ranks of the honest men who dared to speak up for truth and justice. In November, 1897, Matthieu Dreyfus, by advice of Scheurer-Kestner, wrote to the secretary for war accusing Esterhazy of being the author of the bordereau, and requesting that justice be done to his brother.

#### SCHEURER-KESTNER, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

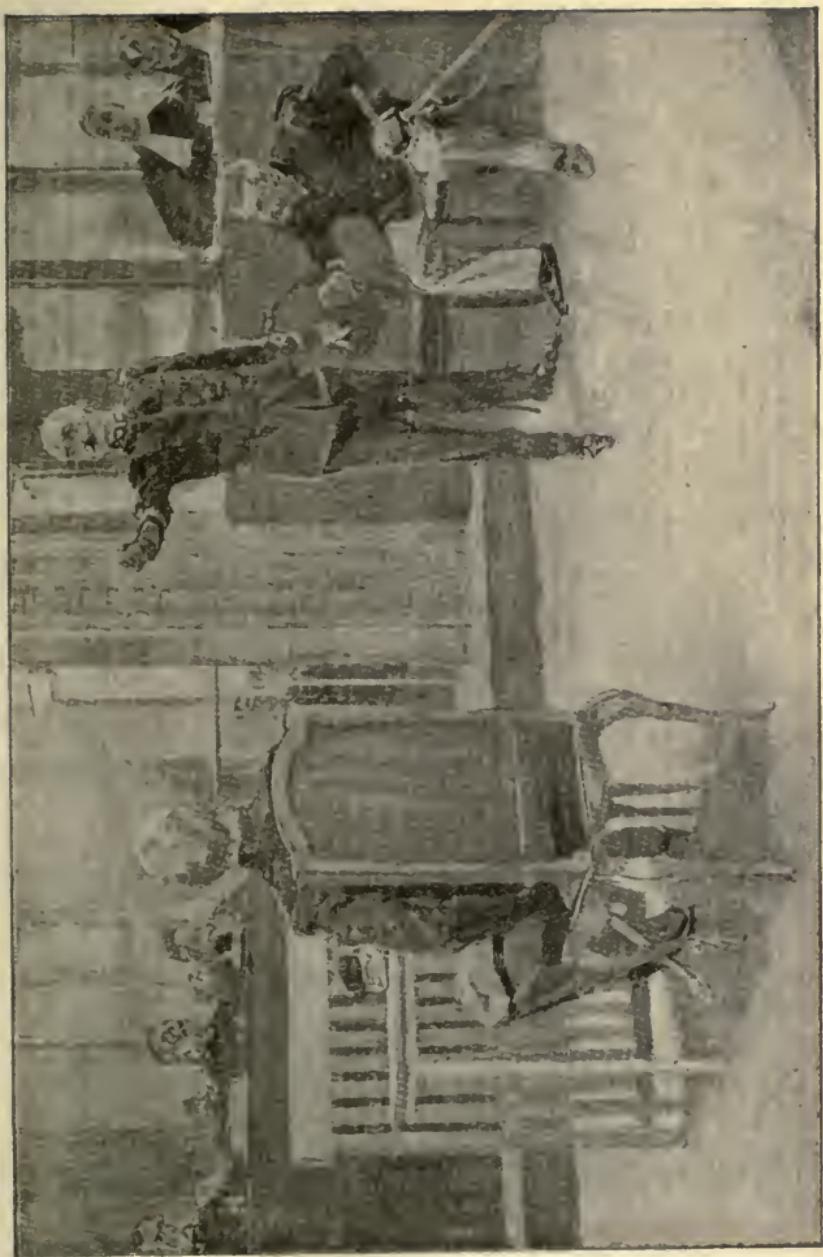
M. Scheurer-Kestner, vice-president of the senate, was one of the vast majority of Frenchmen who believed in the guilt of Dreyfus, because they could not believe that the headquarters could have made a mistake, and at the same time he was among those few who wondered what motive a rich officer like Dreyfus, occupying a high position, could possibly have in betraying his country. The story goes that M. Scheurer-Kestner once expressed this thought at dinner when an officer present said he could explain the motive. Dreyfus had bought a house in Paris, paying for it 228,000 francs (over £9,000), and thus he had need of large sums of money. The officer went on to say that he had this fact from a member of the court-martial that tried Dreyfus. Scheurer-Kestner found the story absolutely false, and began to make

further inquiries. He met Leblois, Picquart's friend, who laid the case before him; gave him Gonse's letters to Picquart; he called on Billot, urging him to make inquiries; and, having convinced himself of the innocence of Dreyfus, took his position without hesitation as the principal mover in the revision movement, informing several of his colleagues of the definite conclusion at which he had arrived. This was in July, 1897. The Figaro now boldly called for revision, and the revision campaign, which began under the auspices of Scheurer-Kestner, gained strength, slowly and amid immense difficulties, but surely. But ruin still marked the path of the conspirators. Forzinetti was cashiered for declaring to M. Henri Rochefort his belief in the innocence of Dreyfus. Picquart's premises in the Rue Yvon Villarcean were searched, and he himself recalled from his mission in Tunis, to be examined by General de Pellieux, the government commissioner, in matters pending against Esterhazy.

## CHAPTER III.

## “VIVE ESTERHAZY!”

For Esterhazy, with the boldness—of despair shall we say?—demanded that a court-martial should be held on him, and held it was, in January, 1898. The offenses charged against him were that he had written the bordereau and was in treasonable correspondence with Schwartzkoppen. He admitted that the handwriting of the bordereau was his own, but that it was a tracing made by Dreyfus upon his writing, and then put together. As to the petit bleu, that was a forgery by Picquart. The court-martial which was a court even more remarkable than that which had condemned Dreyfus, accepted Esterhazy's story, and acquitted him. Picquart was a witness, but when he entered the box the court immediately made itself a secret court. Esterhazy left the court with his companion, Mdlle. Pays, on his arm, and the pair received an ovation in the street from the public. “Vive Esterhazy! Vive l'armee!” was their cry.



DRAMATIC INCIDENT AT RENNES

General Mercier interrupted by Dreyfus.



After Esterhazy's acquittal Picquart was arrested and imprisoned, and then tried before a military court of inquiry, charged with showing and divulging documents, and giving to his lawyer Leblois his correspondence with General Gonse. The last charge only was found proved, and Picquart went back to prison and was afterwards dismissed from the army.

### "J'ACCUSE."

And now, as the next development, no less a person than Emile Zola took up the cudgels for the prisoner of the Ile du Diable. In January of the present year Zola addressed a letter to the president of the republic, published in the *Aurore*, in which was a series of formal accusations, each beginning with "J'accuse," against the courts-martial which had tried Dreyfus and Esterhazy. Zola's object was to be prosecuted for defamation, so that light could be thrown on the great case. That object was only partially attained. The minister of war resolved to prosecute, but in order to prevent the re-opening of the Dreyfus case the matter selected from Zola's letter—a very long one—was confined to the following:

"I accuse the first court-martial of having violated the law in condemning an accused person

on a document kept secret. And I accuse the second court-martial of having by order screened this illegality, committing in its turn, that which in a judge is a crime—knowingly acquitting a guilty person."

### TRIAL OF ZOLA.

The president of the Court of Assize which tried him did what he could to prevent Zola's witnesses from giving evidence which bore on the Dreyfus trial, and there were formidable barriers which could be relied upon to keep out the light. There was the chose jugee, otherwise the Dreyfus trial; the huis clos, or closed doors of both the Dreyfus and Esterhazy trials; the question of "state secrets," and "professional secrets." Maitre Labori, Zola's counsel, unable to contend against these obstacles, was not, however, wholly debarred from giving his own complete view of the Dreyfus case, and from eliciting from witnesses what seemed to establish certain facts of the greatest importance, namely, the illegality of Dreyfus's condemnation, the error as to the bordereau, and the identity of its real author. The case, as heard on the 7th of February last, went from the first against Zola, for, strange as it may seem to those who are not familiar with the remarkable methods of the administration of

justice in France, the judge, M. Delegorgue, decided that he could not call evidence on the points raised by the prosecution and on the charges made in his famous letter to the president of the republic. During the second day of the trial Zola exclaimed that he wished to be treated as fairly as thieves or murderers were treated. They had the right to defend themselves, but he was deprived of it. There were many wrangles between judge and counsel, and the advocate-general followed, and the court decided that no question foreign to the indictment would be allowed.

“MY DUTY IS NOT TO TELL THE  
TRUTH.”

M. Casimir-Perier, the ex-president, on being sworn, interrupted the judge by saying, “Pardon me, I cannot swear to tell the truth since that is just what I may not tell. My duty is not to tell the truth.” General de Boisdeffre created considerable sensation by stating that “in his own view the guilt of Dreyfus was certain, and that there were facts both anterior and subsequent to the trial which made his certainty quite unshakable.” General Mercier, former minister of war, expressed his opinion that Dreyfus was legally adjudged a traitor. Esterhazy, who sheltered

himself behind refusals to reply, General de Pellieux, who made a violent speech, and hinted darkly at a day of danger and butchery for the sons of the jurymen, Picquart and others were examined amidst more or less disorder and incessant obstruction of Zola's advocate by the judge. The evidence thus brought forward, and Maitre Labori's tremendous onslaught, caused the greatest commotion. The general staff, much perturbed, decided to take firm steps to secure Zola's conviction.

#### A BOGEY TO FRIGHTEN THE JURY.

General Pellieux and General de Boisdeffre made some remarkable observations to the jury. "If," said the former, "the chiefs are discredited in the eyes of the soldiers, your sons, gentlemen of the jury, will be led to the slaughter." General de Boisdeffre threatened the resignation of the chiefs of the army, and, as a final coup, the new "secret documents," already referred to, was produced in court by General Pellieux—that "letter" from Panizzardi to Schwartzkoppen at the time of the Castelin interpellation intercepted by the vigilance of the government! General Pellieux invited his colleagues De Boisdeffre and Gonse to confirm this; they did so. Zola's counsel, however, was not permitted to see the docu-

ment nor to cross-examine the generals upon it. Picquart had the courage to say that the document was a forgery. It had turned up at the moment it was wanted to show that Esterhazy was not the author of the bordereau, and its wording was against its genuineness. Altogether he had always considered it a forgery. The jury, who had been under tremendous pressure during the whole trial, brought in the only verdict they dared to bring—a verdict against Zola and against the Aurore by a majority of 8 to 4. The defendants were condemned to a fine of 120l. each; Zola to one year's and the editor of the Aurore to four months' imprisonment. Later on Zola carried his case to the Court of Appeal, which quashed the judgment of the court of Assize on the ground that the action should have been brought by the court-martial which he had libelled, and not by the minister of war. A second trial accordingly took place, at which Zola declined to be present, and was accordingly sentenced once again. He shook the dust of his country from his shoes and went into exile into a more honest land.

#### MINISTER OF WAR CAVAGNAC "FINISHES" THE DREYFUS CASE.

In June, 1898, in consequence of the elections,

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the Meline cabinet gave way to the Brisson cabinet. M. Sarrien became minister of justice; M. Cavaignac was appointed minister of war—the man of men to put an end to the Dreyfus case. He was resolved to do this, and he made a personal study of it. The result of the minister's studies were given to France and the world in a great speech in the chamber. Considerations superior to reasons of law, he said, now made it necessary for the government to bring before the chamber and the country the facts which had come to confirm the conviction of Dreyfus. The guilt of Dreyfus was an absolute certainty, and it was based on Dreyfus' own confessions and on documents in the intelligence departments. The "confession" was the alleged remark made by Dreyfus in the presence of Captain Anthoine and repeated by him to Captain d'Attel, to the effect that what he, Dreyfus, had handed over was worth nothing, and that if he had been let alone he would have had more in exchange. Another "confession" was noted by Captain Le-brun Renault, who commanded the escort on the day of Dreyfus's degradation, and was to the effect that Dreyfus had said it was not original documents but copies that were handed over, and that they were in any case unimportant papers, and that he did so in order to obtain serious

ones. The documents adduced by M. Cavaignac in his speech were not the famous bordereau, but three others. One of them, dated in March, 1894, referred to a person named D.; the second, dated in the following month, contained the expression "Cette canaille de D—" the same as that in the other document brought forward by the Eclair; and, lastly, the absolute proof which had been brought by General Pellieux to the Zola trial. As to this document, said M. Cavaignac, its authenticity depended not only on its origin, but on its similarity with a document written on the same paper, and with the same blue pencil, and that its "moral authenticity" was established by its being part of a correspondence exchanged between the same persons, Panizzardi, the Italian attache, and Schwartzkoppen, the German attache, in 1896. The chamber hailed M. Cavaignac's speech as a final blow to Dreyfus and all who believed in him, and ordered it to be placarded all over France.

Alas, poor Cavaignac! Alas, poor France! Within a few weeks the edifice built upon these documents—whose "material and moral authenticity" Cavaignac had weighed, and the 3,600 communes of France had read, placarded on their walls—crumbled to dust.

## CHAPTER IV.

## ESTERHAZY AS AN UHLAN.

But Cavaignac did even more. He ordered Esterhazy to be brought before a court of military inquiry, not, apparently, to answer any specific charge, but to justify his military career. Now, during the military career of Esterhazy, it is alleged that he wrote to his cousin, Madame de Boulancy, in 1882, a certain letter which was among a batch seized by General de Pellieux in the proceedings preliminary to the court-martial on Esterhazy, a letter which was highly uncomplimentary to the French nation and army. It is "an accursed people," he said, and he is convinced that they are "not worth even the cartridges for killing them." He would be quite pleased to be slain as a captain of Uhlans while he was sabring them, and the sight of Paris "beneath the red sun of battle, given over to pillage by a hundred thousand drunken soldiers," is his "favorite dream." Not pleasant reading, surely, for the members of the French secret court of in-

quiry. Other little matters relating to his private life, the writing of threatening letters to the president of the republic (written, it seems, at Du Paty de Clam's dictation), and certain irregular proceedings before and after his court-martial were before the court, the judges of which answered the questions submitted to them as follows: Upon the facts before the court ought Esterhazy to be cashiered?

1. For habitual misconduct. Ayes, 3; Noes, 2.
2. For grave offense against discipline. No, unanimously.
3. For offense against honor. Ayes, 1; Noes, 4.

General Zulinden, the military governor of Paris, in sending the finding of the court to Cavaignac, minister of war, pointed out that, as the decision was not unanimous, it would be in accordance with the usage of the army to inflict only a disciplinary punishment by withdrawing Esterhazy from the active list. The minister decided, however, that Esterhazy should be cashiered.

Not long after, Du Paty de Clam was removed from the active list. Cavaignac dealt also with Picquart, who had written to the premier offering to prove that one of the three documents spoken of by Cavaignac in the chamber was a

forgery. He was proceeded against, however, for having communicated to Leblois documents affecting the defense of the state, and lodged in jail.

### A BOLT FROM THE BLUE.

Such were the principal events of the summer of 1898; but it was not to pass without one other event which shook the placarded communes of France to their respective centers. Suddenly, in August, 1898, came the startling news that Colonel Henry, the head of the intelligence department, the mainstay of the prosecution of Dreyfus, the Henry who had found new proofs of guilt when they were wanted, the conscientious soldier who had asserted that "his cap must not know what was in his head," who had pointed to Dreyfus in court as the traitor with a dramatic "le traitre, le voila," had confessed to having forged the very documents quoted by the minister of war, Cavaignac, as absolute proofs of Dreyfus' guilt! Then came the news that Henry was a prisoner in Mont Valerien, and, finally, that he had cut his throat with a razor. The death of Henry was the death-knell of Cavaignac as war minister. He resigned. General de Boisdeffre resigned with him. Zurlinden was appointed war minister. He also studies the Drey-



COLONEL MAUREL

CAPTAIN FREYSTAETTER

THE TRIAL OF CAPTAIN DREYFUS AT RENNES: SKETCHES IN COURT

A sensational incident: Two judges of the first court-martial confronted.



fus papers, and at the end of a week resigns and goes back to his governorship of Paris. General Chanoine takes his place. Esterhazy at once crosses the frontier, for there is no knowing what Henry may have said. The air is cleared a little of some of its pestilential vapors.

#### “HAUTE POLITIQUE.”

And now the question arose, among many other questions which have not yet been fully answered, how the forgery was brought home to Henry? What led M. Cavaignac to resume inquiries into the Dreyfus case after his conclusive speech which had been triumphantly placarded all over France? Was it his consuming zeal for the continued study of the case, or was it from the fact that the German and Italian governments, which had long before denounced the Panizzardi-Schwartzkoppen correspondence as forgeries, insisted upon being believed? Weeks before the Zola trial the two governments had informed the French minister for foreign affairs that the forgeries had been revealed to them—probably by the forger himself, a man named Lemercier-Picard, who afterwards hanged himself. The French government and the war office had utterly disregarded the repudiations of the Italian and German governments

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that they had had any connection with Dreyfus. Was M. Cavaignac now compelled by them to take notice of that repudiation, and had that led to the catastrophe of Colonel Henry? It is believed that the discovery of Henry's forgery arose from the smartness of Captain Cuignet, of the intelligence department, who, with an extra strong lamp, had detected that the paper of the "absolute proof" document produced by General Pellieux at the Zola trial was not identical with the paper of the rest of the correspondence as M. Cavaignac had thought it was. However this may be, the chief of the intelligence department of the French army, the accuser of Dreyfus, the enemy of Picquart, the supporter of Esterhazy, confessed himself the forger of a document which was intended to rivet still tighter the chains on a helpless and possibly innocent prisoner, and, having so confessed, killed himself.

### THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

To Sarrien, the strong minister of justice, and to Picquart, always honest and fearless, belong the honor, under the Brisson cabinet, of promoting the work of the revision of the court-martial. Revision was now in the air. The effect produced by the suicide of Henry was tremendous. "It carried conviction," says Mr. Conybeare in

his book on the Dreyfus case, "to many who were wavering, and stirred the consciences of thousands of Republicans who had hitherto pretended to themselves that no responsibility lay on them: A majority of the constituencies were now in favor of revision." Brisson's cabinet was committed to it, though of course Zurlinden, and after him Chanoine, ministers of war, remained obdurate, shutting their eyes to the light and keeping their brains in the conveniently addled state demanded by the "honor of the army." Picquart, with his clear brain and wide-open eye, applied to Brisson from prison for leave to write to him all he knew; he was referred to Sarrien, who was ready to listen and to read. Picquart accordingly wrote (in September, 1898), describing the secret dossier as he knew it in 1896, and stating that the fact that it had been secretly communicated to the judges of Dreyfus' court-martial was well known to Mercier, De Boisdeffre, Sandherr, Gonse, Henry, and Du Paty de Clam. Zurlinden, minister of war, hearing of this, forwarded to Sarrien a memorandum showing that Picquart was not to be trusted, and ought, in fact, to be prosecuted for forging the *petit bleu*. Zurlinden pushed matters still further. He applied to the cabinet to bring Pic-

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quart to a court-martial for that alleged offense. The cabinet, all honor to it, refused.

Sarrien, taking the measure of Zurlinden, went on, and at a ministerial council held in the middle of September, under the presidency of the president of the republic, made a statement. He adduced paragraph 4 of article No. 443 of the Code of Criminal Instruction, which provides for the re-opening of a case if after a condemnatory verdict facts should transpire or occur, or documents unknown at the time of trial should be shown to be of a nature calculated to establish the innocence of the person condemned; and he then passed on logically to the confession of forgery by Henry, and found that it was calculated to throw a legitimate suspicion upon his evidence for prosecution before the military tribunal which sentenced Dreyfus. The ministerial council was divided in opinion. The war minister, Zurlinden, was, of course, against the re-opening of the case, so was M. Tillaye, the minister of public works. The president himself, it is said, considered that embarrassments might arise—as, indeed, they undoubtedly would, and will, for many who have been connected with the affair. The specter of la haute politique, of foreign complications, was present as always, and the military reign of terror was not yet over.

But in the end the matter was referred to the permanent commission of revision of the ministry of justice—not to decide upon the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus, but upon the question whether the case should or should not be retried by carrying it to the court of appeal. The commission met but could not agree, and then the Brisson cabinet took the short cut which, but for the necessity of endless formality so characteristic of the French, one would have thought could have been taken at first; it applied through the procureur to the court of appeal direct. M. Bard, one of the members of the court, was instructed to report upon the case, and thus, under Brisson and Sarrien, was taken the first great step towards revision, and the first legal blow dealt at the military party.

## CHAPTER V.

## FALL OF THE BRISSON CABINET.

But terrific obstacles were yet to be overcome and disasters were to be endured—those swift and sudden disasters which gather strength, and fall, swift and sudden as tropical thunderstorms, in Latin countries. Within a month of the carrying of the question to the Court of Appeal there was a debate in the chamber on the action of the government (on October 25, 1898), during which Chanoine, minister of war, mounted the tribune and announced that, as representing the army, he could not be a party to revision. The Brisson cabinet immediately resigned, and on the 31st a new cabinet succeeded, Dupuy (who was in office at the time of Dreyfus' court-martial) as premier; Lebret, minister of justice; Freycinet, minister of war; Delcasse, foreign minister—an anti-revisionist cabinet; Lebret, especially, a determined enemy of revision. Here, then, was a blow to the cause—and it was most bitterly felt; but there remained the great fact—the ap-

plication to the Court of Appeal had been made, and could not be interfered with. The new cabinet admitted as much on assuming office.

### PICQUART AGAIN ARRAIGNED.

Zurlinden and Chanoine, however, had their way with the gallant Picquart. They could not forgive his letters to Sarrien, and on September 21 he was brought before the Correctional Tribunal on the charge of communicating documents. The military party demanded that he should be surrendered to them to be tried, later, for forgery. The judge yielded, but Picquart, before being removed, uttered in the court the following words—the clear, trumpet blast of an honest man and a brave one:

"I absolutely oppose my being surrendered. I submit my cause to your wisdom, but I have something further to say. It is only here, and a few minutes ago, that I learned the reality of the abominable plot in which this morning I still could not believe. It is the charge of forgery in regard to the *petit bleu*. You would have understood the matter more plainly if this trial had taken place, for it would have enlightened you with regard to the good faith of my accusers. I shall perhaps this evening go to the *Cherche Midi*, and now is probably the last time prior to

secret trial that I can say a word in public. I would have people know, if there be found in my cell the rope of Lemercier Picard, or the razor of Henry, that I have been assassinated. For a man like myself cannot for an instant think of suicide. I shall face this accusation erect and fearless, and with the same serenity with which I have ever met my accusers. That is what I had to say, Monsieur le President."

This speech was received with shouts of "Vive Picquart!" and "A bas les faussaires!" Picquart was handed over to his enemies, but he had saved himself from assassination by those bold and memorable words. Eventually he was delivered from the ~~clutches~~ of his persecutors by an application to the Court of Appeal, which decided that the proceedings pending against him should be superseded; that the charge of forgery and some of the other charges should go to the Criminal Court, and two other charges to the military tribunal. And thus Picquart went back to a civil prison, there to linger—another innocent man deprived of liberty. The man Lemercier Picard, to whom he referred, was one of the gang of forgers who attempted to hoodwink M. Reinach, a leading member of the Dreyfus syndicate, and did hoodwink Rochefort, of the Intransigeant, who accused Reinach and the

syndicate with the forgery. Reinach got damages for libel, and Lemercier Picard was found hanging by a noose in the attic where he lived.

#### BEFORE THE COURT OF APPEAL.

On October 27, 1898, the Criminal Court of the Cour de Cassation—the Court of Appeal—met to receive and consider M. Bard's report. M. Bard said that in falling upon an officer of the army the sentence upon Dreyfus excited legitimate emotion, but also party passion. Even before the verdict, before the prisoner could explain himself, prejudices against him were sown broadcast among the public, and even later, when the appeal for revision was addressed to the minister of justice, opinion was aroused by many and various means. "The echoes from outside," said M. Bard, "cannot disturb us here, for we have but a single passion, that of justice and truth." The bordereau was the essential document of the case against Dreyfus, and Colonel Henry's word—the word of a self-confessed forger—was the only guarantee as to its origin. The forgery by Henry, considering the circumstances in which it was committed and revealed, left nothing of the original trial of 1894 intact, especially as the handwriting experts of 1897 had completely contradicted the handwriting ex-

perts of 1894. "It is not too much to affirm," said M. Bard, "that the accusation was now entirely nullified. It might indeed be asked whether, as an acquittal was incumbent, the court ought not to certify, as it did last January, in quashing a judgment of an Algiers court-martial, that there was no crime, and simply annul the judgment without ordering a fresh trial. Whatever might be the opinion of the court on the judgment of 1894, it would not forget that the military authorities were opposed to revision. It was the function of the Court of Appeal to bring the truth to light. It was a delicate task, but it would be derogatory to the court to suspect it of shirking. Already there had been too many derelictions of duty in this long series of incidents. Free from all the considerations or suggestions which had inspired others, and solely anxious for justice, the court had a great duty before it, and it would follow the dictates of its conscience." After M. Bard the court was addressed by M. Manau, procureur-general, and by M. Mornard, counsel for Madame Dreyfus, and, on October 29, the court delivered judgment as follows:

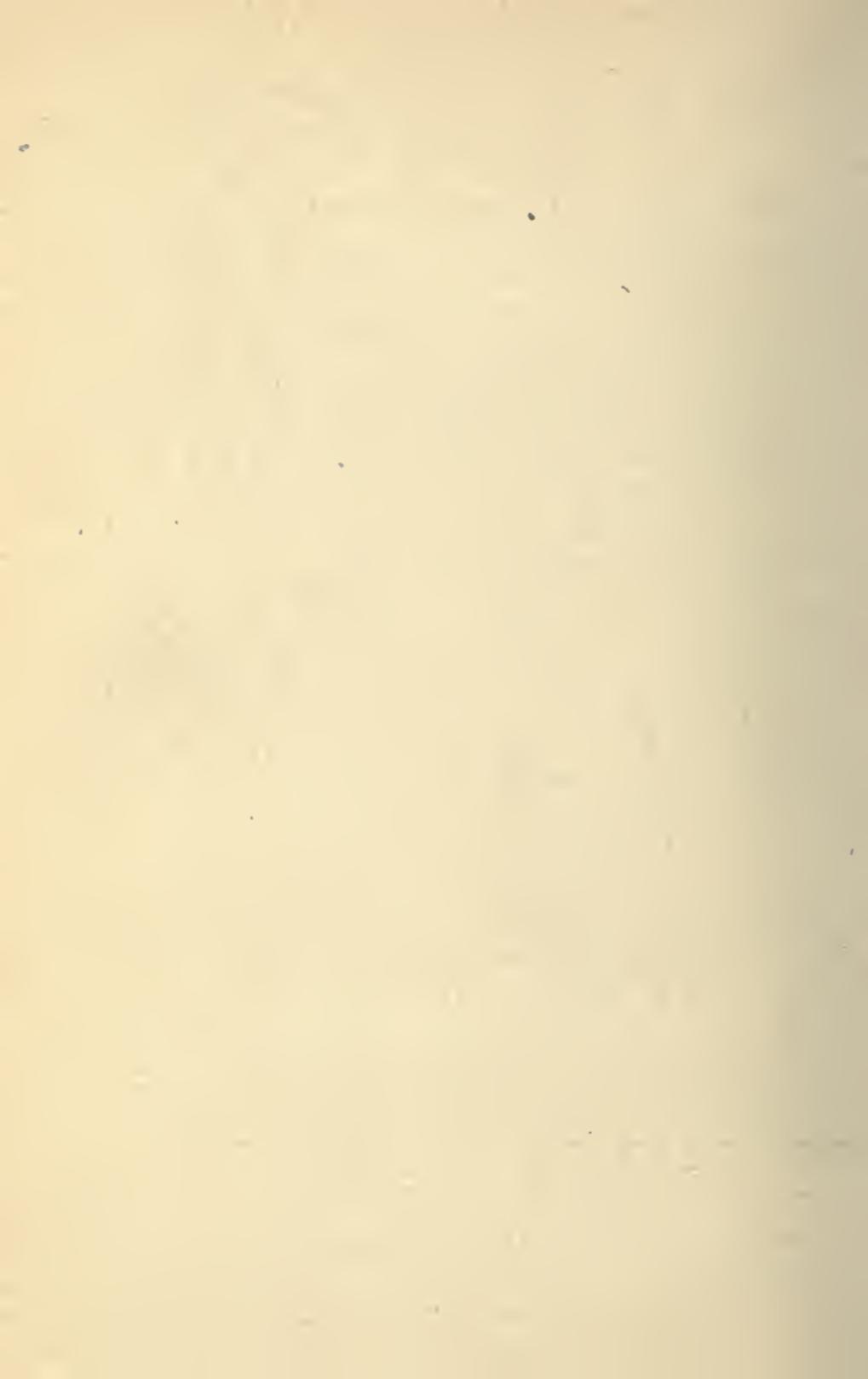
"In view of the letter of the minister of justice of September 20, 1898:

"In view of the arguments submitted by the

THE DREYFUS TRIAL: BRINGING THE SECRET DOSSIER INTO COURT

Each day the documents known as the secret *dossier* were brought into Court in a large basket by two soldiers in charge of a corporal, and at the close of each sitting it is taken away again with the same ceremonial.





public prosecutor attached to the Court of Cassation, denouncing to the court the condemnation pronounced by the first court-martial of the Military Court of Paris on December 22, 1894, on Alfred Dreyfus, then captain of artillery, attached to the general staff of the army;

"In view of all the documents of the case, and also of articles 443 to 446 of the code of criminal procedure, amended by the law of June 10, 1895, on the admissibility, in proper form, of an application for revision;

"Whereas the court has had the matter brought before it by its public prosecutor, in virtue of an express order of the minister of justice, acting after having taken the opinion of the commission established by article 444 of the code of criminal procedure;

"Whereas the application comes within the category of cases provided for by the last paragraph of article 443, and has been introduced within the period fixed by article 444;

"Whereas, finally, the judgment, the revision of which is asked for, has the force of chose jugee.

"As regards the state of the case:

"Whereas, the documents produced do not place the court in a position to decide on all the

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merits of the case, and there is ground for making a supplementary inquiry.

"For these reasons, the court declares the application in proper form and legally admissible; states that it will institute a supplementary inquiry; and declares that there is no ground for deciding at the present moment on the public prosecutor's application for the suspension of the penalty.

## CHAPTER VI.

### PREMIER DUPUY'S GREAT MOVE.

Revision was at last fairly in sight. On October 29, 1898, the criminal chamber of the Appeal Court decided to proceed and take evidence. Then came the outrageous attacks on the court. Beaurepaire, president of the civil chamber of the court, joined in the attack on his colleagues. Then came the *Loi de désaisissement* of the Premier Dupuy, by which the adjudication of the Dreyfus case was transferred to the united chambers of the court, the Criminal Chamber, the Civil Chamber, and the Chambre des Requêtes, thus declaring the highest criminal court in the country incapable of dealing with evidence. The conspiracy against revision raised its head again stronger than ever. This was, in fact, the supreme effort of the conspirators, and the military party rejoiced exceedingly.

### REVIVED HOPES.

And now, behold, the unexpected happened!

Death once more stepped in and swept out of the path a secret adversary of the cause of revision, a man who was always under the thumb of its enemies—the president of the republic himself, Felix Faure. This event led to the abortive attempt of the hysterical Deroulede to induce General Roget and his troops who attended the funeral of the president to march on the Elysee. Still the deadly Loi de desaisissement stood in the way. Rumors were rife that the majority of the united chambers of the Court of Appeal would pronounce against revision. Hopes sank again, when again the situation was saved by an event of the first importance—the publication by the Figaro of the entire evidence taken by the Court of Appeal, evidence which had been rigidly kept secret. The Loi de desaisissement was counteracted, and thenceforth it was certain that whatever the eventual decision might be it would have to be given before a public which now knew the secret history of the Dreyfus case. To the enterprise and courage of the Figaro is due the enormous gain to the cause of justice of public opinion. Secret things, hid away by cowards, were dragged to light. Light came at last, and the bats and owls shrunk from it squeaking and gibbering in dismay.

### BALLOT-BEAUPRE'S REPORT.

The judges of the three chambers of the Court of Appeal met at the Palais de Justice to hear the report of M. Ballot-Beaupre, president of the civil chamber of the Court of Appeal (the successor of Beaurepaire), on the application in favor of revision of the Dreyfus case. The report was a long and exhaustive one, and it dealt with the question of the bordereau as the one question at issue. Is the bordereau in the handwriting of Dreyfus? "Gentlemen," said M. Ballot-Beaupre, "after a profound study of the question I, for my part, have come to the conviction that the bordereau was written not by Dreyfus but by Esterhazy." And the new fact unknown to the judges in 1894 which in M. Ballot-Beaupre's opinion was sufficient to establish the necessity for a new trial was the existence of two letters written in 1892 and 1894 by Esterhazy upon the same kind of water-marked and filagree tracing paper as that upon which the bordereau was written. "I do not ask you," concluded M. Ballot-Beaupre, "to proclaim Dreyfus' innocence, but I say that a fact unknown to the judges of 1894 tends to prove it. This suffices to ordain the sending before a new court-martial to bring in a definite verdict with a full knowledge of the case."

## PROCUREUR GENERAL MANAU'S ADDRESS.

The procureur-general, M. Manau, followed and claimed that the paper on which the bordereau was written had spoken. "It has named the author of the bordereau," he said, "and this fact alone suffices to establish the innocence of Dreyfus, so far as the authorship of the bordereau is concerned. What remains is that, whoever may be guilty, a crime of treason has been committed, but Esterhazy, having been acquitted of having written the bordereau, cannot be prosecuted again, were he a hundred times guilty. As to the innocence of Dreyfus, I do not ask you to proclaim it—that is for the new court-martial, to which, if the court so decides, the case will be referred. Your mission, gentlemen, is another—to say whether there are sufficient elements to prove that the judgment of the court-martial of 1894 is tainted with suspicion. It being now established that Dreyfus had nothing to do with the bordereau, we will dispense ourselves from entering upon a technical discussion of the facts. That will be for the new court-martial. It will be for them to reconcile the opinions of the former ministers of war on that point, and to discuss with their special science the things which are unknown to us."

As to the question of motive, M. Manau pointed out that Dreyfus had married Mlle. Hadamard, who had a large dowry. Colonel Du Paty de Clam himself had admitted, in his report, that Dreyfus led a regular life, and did not live beyond his means. Then compare the prospects and position of Dreyfus and those of Esterhazy. The one had a splendid future before him, while the other was a needy adventurer, asking for money in all directions.

### THE SECRET DOSSIER.

After an analysis of the secret documents, M. Manau wound up by the emphatic declaration that there was nothing in the secret dossier to incriminate Dreyfus. "We do not yet understand," he said, "why there was so much delay in submitting them to investigation. Those documents were secret only for Dreyfus, and they cannot be brought up against him. He knows, as the basis of his indictment and conviction, solely the bordereau and his alleged confession. The examination of the secret papers results in showing that of the three documents by which M. Cavaignac sought to justify the condemnation, two are forgeries and the third does not apply to Dreyfus."

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE "LEGEND OF THE CONFESSIONS."

The procureur finally came to what he called the legend of Dreyfus' confessions, and then endeavored to prove the improbability of these confessions on the part of a man who had never ceased to plead and assert his innocence, and who had proclaimed it aloud before the troops on the day of his degradation. It was only in November, 1897, that the story of the confession was brought up at the request of General Billot. That was an evident proof that the confessions were not made by Dreyfus. M. Manau expressed a severe opinion on M. Cavaignac, who had depended for the proof of Dreyfus' guilt on a sheet from a notebook destroyed by Captain Lebrun-Renault. "I have the right," he declared, "to say that these confessions never existed, and I should like to know whether the incomprehensible evidence of M. Bertillon was not the first cause of Dreyfus' condemnation." M. Manau alluded to the accounts of officials who had been

in contact with Dreyfus, and who all affirmed their belief in his innocence, and quoted letters written from the Ile du Diable, wherein the prisoner protested against the imputations brought against him. He had been told in 1894 that superior interests were opposed to any search for the real culprits. In his letters he asked that, notwithstanding these interests, honor might be restored to the name he bore, and that he should be restored to his family. What was there more human? The chief officer of the Ile du Diable declared that Dreyfus was an abominable being, loving neither his wife nor his children. If so, how could he write such letters?"

M. Manau, in conclusion, said: "I decline to believe that the court can refuse Dreyfus the supreme relief which is being solicited for him. The country, the world, and history are awaiting the decision; they will pass a judgment without appeal. Before them and before the court we assume the responsibility of our conclusions as magistrates and as citizens with the consciousness of having done our duty. These conclusions are: We affirm the existence of several new facts which are of a nature to establish the innocence of Dreyfus. Consequently, let it please the court to pronounce the abrogation of the judgment of December 22, 1894, and to send

Dreyfus, in the quality of an accused person, to such court-martial as it may be pleased to designate."

### THE "CONFESSiON" OF DREYFUS.

Among the most important of the "proofs" of Dreyfus' guilt in the eyes of his enemies was the "confession" which he is alleged to have made to Captain Lebrun-Renault, and to which Procureur-General Manau referred as non-existent in the speech above quoted. On the day of Dreyfus' degradation, Captain Lebrun-Renault was in command of the escort of gendarmes which conducted Dreyfus from the Cherche Midi prison to the Ecole Militaire. Whilst waiting in the guard-room Dreyfus, according to Lebrun-Renault, said to him, "I am innocent. In three years my innocence will be recognized. The minister knows it, and Commandant Du Paty de Clam came to see me some days ago in my cell, and said that the minister knew it. The minister knew that if I gave documents to Germany they were unimportant ones, and that it was for the purpose of getting for them more important ones." Lebrun-Renault stated that he entered the remark in his pocket book, which pocket book he destroyed at the end of the year, according to his custom, but he kept the page



GENERAL ROGET: "THIS IS INCORRECT"

Scene between Colonel Picquart and General Roget at the Dreyfus trial, August 18.



containing the entry. In 1898 Cavaignac, minister for war, sent for Lebrun-Renault, who produced the torn-out page. Cavaignac copied it, and it was then destroyed by Lebrun-Renault, who thought, as he says, that there was no more use for it. Cavaignac, in his "great speech settling the Dreyfus affair," in July, 1898, read out the copy, as being one of the absolute proofs. This confession has been to a certain extent a stumbling-block to the outside public, who were friendly to revision. It was a mystery of which there was no definite explanation.

#### A VOICE FROM THE GRAVE.

And now comes a voice from the grave bearing upon this very question, the voice of Sandherr, the head of the intelligence department at the time of Dreyfus' arrest, and was up to the time of his death in the plot against him. It seems that M. de Civry, the director of the Echo de l'Armee newspaper, having heard of the alleged "confession" wrote an article on the subject—a violent anti-Dreyfus article, of course—and sent a proof of it to Sandherr himself for revision before publication. Here is Sandherr's reply, a most important document: "Saturday, January 5, 1895.—My dear De Civry,—No! do not publish the article which

Georgin has just shown to me. It would open the door to useless discussions, for I tell you sincerely that it is not exact. Dreyfus did not confess to the captain of the Republican Guard as he told you he did. This error might give rise to various protests. It would be well, therefore, to pass it over in silence. The less you speak of this sad affair in the Echo, the better will it be for us."

### A TANGLE OF SIDE ISSUES.

Of the extraordinary ramifications, side issues, and underplot of the Affaire it has not been possible to speak in a necessarily concise history of the case. A complete narrative would fill volumes. It has been, in many of its phases, especially those in which Esterhazy figures, what the French call a "Roman de cape et d'épee;" there have been veiled ladies; officers disguised in false beards and blue spectacles; forged telegrams; rendezvous at dusk in the park of Montsouris and at the cemetery of Montmartre; rumors of letters from crowned heads; hundreds of closely printed columns in the newspapers ranged on either side, full of sound and fury, and signifying nothing; "leagues" formed by both parties; the "Droits de l'Homme" league of Reinach, Zola, Trarieux,

Jaures, and Yves Guyot; the league of the "Patrie Francaise," founded by Coppee, Brunetiere, Lemaitre and Barres; the league of "Patriotes," formed by the hysterical Deroulede, who, at the funeral of President Faure, thought to turn the nose of General Roget's horse in the direction of the Elysee and bring about the triumph of the army; and, lastly, the silly vagaries of M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, who resigned his position as president of the Chambre des Requetes section of the Court of Cassation, because his colleagues of the Criminal Chamber were too partial, and who has himself been the victim of practical jokes and the champion discoverer of mare's nests ever since. To these matters, some tragic and some comic, some interesting, some beneath contempt—all of them the outcome of decadent national character—it is only possible to allude passingly in a brief history of the case. They will be regarded by posterity with amazement and perplexity.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FRANCE ONCE MORE.

Revision was decided upon, the war minister, De Freycinet, having, in view of such an eventuality, sidled out of his office—another of the many instances of moral cowardice during the case. Krantz, a stronger man, with broader shoulders, took his place. The return of Dreyfus to France was ordered. The final phase of the Affaire Dreyfus began. All eyes were turned to the island prison off Guiana to which the cruiser Sfax had been ordered to bring the prisoner back. What he suffered there during the four years of exile—the brutalities of his keepers, and the colonial authorities in Paris, the incredible cruelties inflicted on him, diabolical cruelties such as the world has not heard of for a hundred years—of this terrible page of the history mention can only be made here. They have been revealed in all their hideousness so recently as to be in the recollection of all, and they have aroused the deep horror, and at

the same time the admiration of the world, horror for the torments, admiration for the heroic soul of the man upon whom they were inflicted. No greater hero ever stepped upon the deck of a man-of-war than the convict of Devil's Island.

### THE HOME-COMING OF DREYFUS.

"There is extraordinary energy in this man. During twenty days he gave no sign of weakness." Such was the succinct resume given by the captain of the French cruiser *Sfax* of the conduct of the "officer-prisoner" whom he took on board at Cayenne on June 8, and landed at Haliguen, on the Quiberon peninsula, in the dead of the night of July 1. Probably the captain had no idea of the tortures inflicted upon officer-prisoner Dreyfus in the Ile du Diable during four years of unjust punishment—tortures so hideous and so cruel that the recital of them is like a chapter out of the annals of some savage tyranny of the Middle Ages. Had he heard, could he have been brought to believe those shocking outrages on humanity, he would not have wondered at his prisoner's demeanor on board his ship. The *Sfax*, even with a closed cabin window and a sentry at the cabin door, must have been a paradise to that Devil's Island, with its brutal governor and its

palisaded hut, and when the long-suffering victim went on deck the dash of the sea waves was no longer on the iron shore of an island prison, but against the side of a vessel which was bearing him back to civilization and comparative freedom.

Stringent regulations were in force during the voyage of the prisoner of state, or, to use a less grandiloquent and equally true phrase, the victim of conspiracy. He was boycotted by the whole ship's company, and had to write, and receive in writing, all communications that passed between him and Captain Coffinieres de Nordeck. His new position was that of an officer under arrest on a serious charge for which he was to be tried; the regulations of the service adapted to such circumstances were no doubt inevitable, but the narrative of the voyage of the Sfax adds another painful chapter to the brutal records of the scandal of the century. It is said of the prisoner that while on board he seemed happy, and sometimes smiled as he walked the deck and noticed the animated scenes of the daily routine of the warship. There were those on board besides the captain who took an intelligent interest in the prisoner; some of them kept diaries which furnish interesting details.

## LEAVING THE ISLAND.

From them we learn that early on the morning of June 8 the Sfax was at the Isles du Salut (of which the prison-island of Dreyfus, the Ile du Diable, is one), there to coal and water. A boat and a steam launch approached her from the Goeland, the warship on the station. The captain of the Goeland came on board, and handed the captain of the Sfax a sealed packet. "In the steam launch," says one of the crew of the Sfax in his diary, "we perceive a civilian attired in a suit of dark blue cloth, and wearing a cork helmet. He hides his head in his hands. Sometimes he rises and takes a couple of steps, and then he sinks down on a bench; he seems exhausted. We wonder who this personage can be. All sorts of rumors are current among the crew, and after an hour's interval the officers leave the captain's cabin. Orders are given to the boat to go alongside the launch to fetch the individual on board the Sfax. The boat does this, and ten minutes after we see ex-Captain Dreyfus ascending the ladder with difficulty, and with uncertain step, followed by the gendarmes, who have revolvers in their belts. He staggers as he reaches the deck, but he soon recovers his strength. With a still trembling hand he salutes in the mili-

tary style, drawing himself up with a quick movement, as he is very bent. He has gray hair and a dark red beard. His general appearance is fairly good, in spite of the sea sickness from which he is suffering."

#### ON THE SFAX.

Arrived on board, Dreyfus is taken to his cabin by the second officer of the Sfax; it is furnished with wardrobe, table, washstand and bed, and its porthole is strongly barred. On June 10 the Sfax weighed anchor, without having coaled or watered, it seems, and sailed straight for St. Vincent. "A guard was posted to watch him night and day without leaving him, and very strict orders were issued about this. He is to take a turn on deck three times a day, in the morning from nine till ten, and from eleven till noon, and in the afternoon from four till five. Every officer and sailor is expressly forbidden to hold any communication with him. He is served from the officers' table, but he has his meals in his room. He spends his days in reading and writing, and he often smokes. Sometimes he looks out of the porthole, remaining deep in thought for a long while. His luggage consists of two portmanteaus containing linen, books and several packets of chocolate,

small biscuits, and several bottles of toilet vinegar." Others who noted the prisoner's daily life state that Dreyfus in the daytime used to lean against the cabin door smoking and looking through the glass at the operations of the crew. He was not allowed newspapers, but he read books, sometimes drew, and was often in a reverie. He generally went to bed at seven, but rose about midnight to smoke a cigarette, and he regularly got up at five in the morning.

#### AT ST. VINCENT.

At 2:30 on the afternoon of June 18 the Sfax arrived at St. Vincent—a long voyage from Guiana, but it appeared that the orders were that she was to arrive at St. Vincent at a fixed date. No letters or telegrams were allowed to be sent from the port, as "the voyage of Dreyfus was not to be revealed." Sailing from St. Vincent the Sfax arrived on July 1—a date no doubt also carefully set down in her orders—in a gale of wind and rain, not at Brest, or L'Orient, or any of the ports which had been watched for days by eager journalists, but at Haliguen on the Quiberon peninsula. There Dreyfus was landed. One paper only, the Matin, of Paris, knew of the spot, and one paper only, the Temps, was able to give an account of the landing.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE LANDING.

It was to this latter journal that a telegram came from M. Henry Ceard, who, it seems, takes his summer's rest from literary labors on the peninsula of Quiberon, at the village of Port Haliguen. It appears that fishermen, who had been out in the offing, announced that they had seen the Sfax. Immediately the entire population, consisting of about 150 people, went off to the pier, where a closed carriage, drawn by two white horses, was drawn up, in which was M. Viguie, director of the criminal department. At the same time a company of the 116th regiment of the line arrived. It was not, however, until a quarter to two that a launch was heard approaching. "The men bring the boat to land," writes M. Ceard, "Dreyfus is in the middle of them. By the light of a lantern I see him attired in a mackintosh, with a soft traveling hat of the 'bolero' pattern on his head. He gets out of the boat, and between two gendarmes, with slow and weary tread, he ascends



**MAITRE LABORI, LEADING COUNSEL FOR CAPTAIN  
DREYFUS**

A sketch from life by Paul Renquard, drawn at a sitting given on  
the evening before the attempt on Me. Labori's life.



the steps, and so goes on to the carriage brought by M. Viguie. He enters it, the troops surround the vehicle, which proceeds at a rapid pace to the Quiberon station, a kilometer from Port Haliguen."

#### ARRIVAL AT RENNES.

At Quiberon station a special train was waiting consisting of four carriages, and it started almost immediately after the prisoner and escort had entered it. Due at Rennes at 5:15 it arrived there about 6:00, but had been stopped at La Rablais, a level crossing a mile or two outside; there carriages were waiting in which the party were driven to Rennes. The carriage in which Dreyfus was seated was surrounded by gendarmes, and as it approached the prison the gates opened and two hundred gendarmes, who had been kept inside, suddenly rushed out and barred the street on either side of the entrance. Those who were present—and many journalists had been up night after night awaiting the arrival—got a glimpse of Dreyfus as he hurried past. They noticed that he was wearing a blue suit with a gray overcoat. He looked startled and tired; his face was tanned, his hair gray, and his reddish beard trimmed to a point. His eyes seemed expressionless; they looked at

the ground, then at the warders, then at the prison, but seem to see nothing, and to be looking at something far away. To see him walk thus, said an eye-witness of the arrival, with his indifferent step, with vague eyes and fixed thoughts, he seems to follow something which he does not resist and which he obeys. He seems to follow his destiny. A man behind him, a sergeant-major, taps his shoulder and points to door "C." Dreyfus enters it and disappears—disappears once more from the sight of the world after this brief glimpse of him as he passed on to his destiny—but to reappear again, as all honest men sincerely hope, with the untarnished, unmutilated uniform of his rank and with an undimmed sword by his side. Some days previously Madame Dreyfus had arrived at Rennes, Madame Godard, a well-known resident, having placed her house at her disposal. On the arrival of her husband, Madame Dreyfus was at once informed, and accorded permission to visit him. The meeting between husband and wife was deeply touching. The prisoner has also been allowed to see his counsel. Dreyfus was utterly ignorant of all that had taken place during the past two years, and the whole agitation and the various incidents connected with the reopening of his

case came upon him as a revelation. He was like a man raised from the dead.

### MYSTERY—ALWAYS MYSTERY.

The dire calamities which, according to the anti-Dreyfus prophets, were to burst upon France at the moment of his arrival in the country from the Ile du Diable—riot and social convulsion and civil war—were not realized. Even the firebrand Deroulede was found on the side of common sense in demanding that if Dreyfus is proved innocent in demanding that if Dreyfus is proved innocent the ministers of war should be found guilty. But nothing explosive marked the sad homecoming of the sorely tried captain of artillery. Of course it could not be done in a perfectly simple, straightforward way. It was not possible, seemingly, for a mighty nation to land a state prisoner by daylight and safeguard him to his place of detention with the calm assurance of the strength to do what the law demanded. No; Dreyfus must be smuggled in in the dead of night; the journalists must be hoodwinked; the public must be kept in complete ignorance; only “five men” must know the place of landing; the very admiral in charge of the port to which the Sfax was supposed to be bound must not be enlightened.

## CHAPTER X.

### RECAPITULATION OF CASE AGAINST DREYFUS AND CONDENSED STATEMENT OF FACTS RE- LATING THERETO.

In French criminal procedure, whether the case be one for the civil courts or a court-martial, the form of accusing a prisoner is to propound a question (containing the charges against him) to the judges or jury in the case. In this second trial of Dreyfus, the charge against him being that of treason, the question put to his military judges was:

"Is Dreyfus guilty of having, in 1894, practiced machinations or of having had communications with a foreign power or its agents with a view of inciting acts of hostility in the case of war with France, or of having furnished the means therefor by furnishing notes or documents retraced on the bordereau?"

Their answer to the question is "Guilty." The form of punishment prescribed under the

regulations of the army provides that, having been found guilty, the accused may be executed or simply be degraded by having his sword broken and epaulets torn off and then be deported to some convict station or suffer imprisonment at home. Dreyfus has already been degraded. He will not be executed. So that his punishment is reduced to either deportation again or confinement in prison in France. The history of his case in brief follows:

On October 15, 1894, Alfred Dreyfus, a captain in the French army, attached to the general staff, was accused of having sold secret knowledge of the operations of the army to the German government. The information which he was charged with having given to Colonel Schwartzkoppen, military attache of the German embassy at Paris, consisted of:

1. Details of the methods of operating a hydraulic brake on a certain new French cannon referred to as No. 120, or cannon 120.
2. Certain details as to the location of outpost troops on the French border.
3. Data as to modifications made in the manner of artillery formation.
4. Details as to certain French plans in regard to Madagascar.
5. Details of the scheme in the manual of

field firing determined upon by the French government on March 14, 1894.

A French spy discovered the paper upon which this information was written in the waste basket of Colonel Schwartzkoppen and conveyed it to Colonel Sandherr, then chief of the secret service of the French army. The Marquis de Mores and Colonel Du Paty de Clam, members of the general staff and friends of Major Esterhazy, also of the staff, on having the manuscript, or bordereau, shown to them by Colonel Sandherr, suggested that the handwriting resembled that of Dreyfus. Later their opinion was sustained by Esterhazy, who, being at that time in the pay of the German government or its representatives in Paris, found it necessary to divert suspicion from himself. Captain Dreyfus was a Jew, ambitious, wealthy, disliked by the Esterhazy combination. A powerful anti-Semitic sentiment existed in France, and any accusation against a Jew was likely to meet with public favor.

The first court-martial of Dreyfus commenced on December 19, 1894. On January 5, 1895, by sentence of the court-martial he was publicly degraded before the army. His epaulets and insignia of rank were torn from him and his sword was broken. On February 9,

1895, he was banished from France and ordered confined on Devil's Island for the remainder of his life. In June of this year the Court of Cassation granted him a new trial and ordered his return to France for that purpose. The second court-martial followed at Rennes.

During the progress of the case there have been developed the following terms and phrases with which the average American reader is not familiar:

**BORDEREAU**—A memorandum—a list of things to be remembered—a written statement—the document found in Colonel Schwartzkoppen's basket.

**DOSSIER**—A packet of legal documents. The so-called secret dossier consists of the bordereau, the forged letters of Colonel Henry, a number of other letters said to have been written by Dreyfus, and small memoranda supposed to have been falsely prepared against the captain by his enemies.

**PETIT BLEU**—A small blue letter card, sent through pneumatic tubes in Paris. The particular petit bleu in this case is one written to Esterhazy which led Picquart to identify him as the author of the bordereau, and for which he was arrested, the charge being that of forgery.

"CANAILLE DE D——"—This is a phrase occurring in one of the documents of the dossier, and by Paty de Clam and Esterhazy was said to stand for "Canaille de Dreyfus." The present trial has brought out the information that it should read "Canaille de Debois." The wife of Debois was flirting with the German and Italian military attaches at the time Dreyfus was arrested. The expression "canaille" literally means "low fellow."

In the developments of the Dreyfus case it has transpired that prior to 1894 the German government, through a liberal use of money, had gained access to many of the secrets of the French war department, and that Major Esterhazy was the principal traitor. It has further developed that the French government was aware of this system of espionage and had established one of its own in the German war department and the German embassy at Paris; that the letter in which the phrase "Canaille de D——" appears was taken from the German authorities by a French spy ten months before Dreyfus was accused and had no connection with his case; that the general staff of the French army, of which Generals Billot and Mercier were the chief representatives, were aware that Esterhazy had betrayed the government,

but did not dare to expose him owing to his knowledge of acts of wrong-doing on their part; that therefore when it became necessary to find a victim Dreyfus was eagerly pounced upon, since he was a Jew and unpopular with his associates; that Esterhazy wrote the bordereau which was said to have been found in Colonel Schwartzkoppen's waste basket, and had it transmitted back to Colonel Sandherr for the purpose of laying the foundation of a case against Dreyfus; that Colonel Henry, through "pressure," was induced to forge certain papers to be used against Dreyfus, and that from 1894 to the present time the sole object of the combination against Dreyfus has been to save the reputation of the general staff of the French army. This would only be possible in a country where the army is revered as it is in France.

Following the revelation that Esterhazy wrote the bordereau, and his arrest, the declaration was made by Major Panizzardi of the Italian embassy that Esterhazy and not Dreyfus was in the pay of Colonel Schwartzkoppen, that it was Esterhazy who revealed the secrets of the French army, and that Dreyfus was not guilty.

Some of the results of the accusations against

Dreyfus and the machinations of the general staff have been that Casimir-Perier resigned the presidency of France; the Marquis de Mores was murdered; Esterhazy driven into exile; suicide of Colonel Henry; resignation of Cavaignac from the war ministry; exile of Zola; imprisonment of Picquart, and many riots in Paris.

Dreyfus' second trial was upon this legal question:

"Is Dreyfus guilty of having, in 1894, practiced machinations or of having had communications with a foreign power or its agents with a view of inciting acts of hostility in the case of war with France, or of having furnished the means therefor by furnishing notes or documents retraced on the bordereau?"

#### LEADERS IN ARMY PLOT TO RUIN DREYFUS.

The enemies of Dreyfus most conspicuous in the effort to ruin him were:

COUNT WALSIM ESTERHAZY, a Hungarian by birth, and the real author of the bordereau.

COLONEL DU PATY DE CLAM, friend of Esterhazy, and first to charge Dreyfus with treason.



#### THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF MAITRE LABORI

Madame Labori attending to her husband immediately after he had been shot while on his way to the court-martial at Rennes. A sketch by Georges Rédon.



EDOUARD DRUMONT, editor of *La Libre Parole*, and the most rabid Jew-baiter in Paris.

GENERAL MERCIER, minister of war at the time of the arrest of Dreyfus.

GENERAL BILLOT, who succeeded Mercier as minister of war and who refused to re-open the case.

GENERAL GONSE, under chief of the general staff.

GENERAL DE BOISDEFFRE, chief of the general staff, who resigned when Colonel Henry confessed.

COLONEL HENRY, who forged documents to prove Dreyfus guilty and then killed himself.

COLONEL SANDHERR, head of the intelligence department when Dreyfus was first accused.

M. BERTILLON, commissary of police in Paris, who swore Dreyfus wrote the bordonereau.

HENRI ROCHEFORT, editor of *L'Intransigeant*, a violent anti-Semitic paper of Paris.

GENERAL ZURLINDEN, military governor of Paris, who ordered the arrest of Colonel Picquart.

MARQUIS DE MORES, who accused Dreyfus early in the case and was afterward murdered in Africa.

### HIS CHILDREN.

There are only two—Pierre, nearly eight years old, and Jeanne, nearly five at the time of the Rennes trial.

Pierre resembles his uncle, Mathieu Dreyfus, and shows that he has a similar force of character and strength of will. Jeanne is the image of her father. She has all his nervous energy, mingled with a little girl's gayety, coquetry and general prettiness.

They grew up without seeing the black cloud lowering over their heads.

### PICTURE OF PATHOS.

This is the pathetic picture which the Figaro shows. Motherly tenderness has made their home so sweet a prison that they do not think of going to school where other children work, and when they play happily together their mother replaces playmates for them.

It is with her that they go out for walks every day; it is she who tells them amusing stories to make them laugh while her own heart is heavy with grief, and it is she who teaches Jeanne the

alphabet in a big colored picture book, who helps Pierre with his lessons and who corrects the exercises written in his sadly blotted and besmeared copybook.

#### A MOTHER'S STORY.

One day long ago their father did not come home at night, and on seeing the vacant place at the table Pierre began to cry; then his mother, whose eyes were very sad, kissed him with extraordinary passion and told him some story. To appease his curiosity she said the minister of war had ordered him away on a mission to a very far off country. This pious deception has been practiced on them ever since.

At last the great news arrived at the house that Dreyfus had come back to France. Then the pious deception had to be complicated in all kinds of ways to allow of the mother going to Rennes to see her husband.

The children did not bear very patiently this separation from their mother. Mme. Dreyfus received a letter at Rennes the other day saying that Pierre was quite angry, and that he and Jeanne were not convinced that it was necessary for their mother to stay away so long.

"Why," wrote Pierre, "does not father after having been away so long ask for forty-eight

hours' leave of absence to come to Paris?" He said he could not believe the minister of war would refuse his father such a small favor as that, and now what story will the poor mother tell them?

### MENTAL SUFFERINGS OF DREYFUS AS DEPICTED IN A LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

At this moment of the second conviction of Dreyfus attention is again called to the letter which he wrote his wife December 5, 1894, from the prison of Cherche Midi. In this he said:

"I am waiting with impatience for a letter from you. You are my hope, you are my consolation; were it not for you life would be a burden. At the bare thought that they could accuse me of a crime so frightful, so monstrous, my whole being trembles; my body revolts against it. To have worked all my life for one thing alone, to avenge my country, to struggle for her against the infamous ravisher who has snatched from us our dear Alsace, and then to be accused of treason against that country—no, my loved one, my mind refuses to comprehend it.

"Do you remember my telling you how, when I was in Muhlhausen ten years ago, in Septem-

ber, I heard a German band under our windows celebrating the anniversary of Sedan? My grief was such that I wept; I bit the sheets of my bed with rage, and I swore an oath to consecrate all my strength, all my intelligence, to the service of my country against those who thus offered insult to the grief of Alsace.

"No, no. I will not speak of it, for I shall go mad, and I must preserve all my reason. Moreover, my life has henceforth but one aim; to find the wretch who has betrayed his country; to find the traitor for whom no punishment could be too severe.

"Oh, dear France, thou that I love with all my soul, with all my heart! thou to whom I have consecrated all my strength, all my intelligence, how could one accuse me of a crime so horrible!

"I will not write upon this subject, my darling, for spasms take me by the throat. No man has ever borne the martyrdom that I endure. No physical suffering can be compared to the mental agony that I feel when my thoughts turn to this accusation. If I had not my honor to defend, I assure you that I should prefer death; at least death would be forgetfulness. Write to me soon. My love to all. ALFRED."

TWO SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS.  
HENRY'S DYING WORDS AND THE  
AWAKENING OF DREYFUS.

The Dreyfus case can hardly be dismissed from the mind without recalling two now famous sentences, mental outgrowths of the most infamous conspiracy of modern or ancient times. The first is that of Colonel Henry, wrung from his lips when he was confronted with his forgeries:

"I did it for the honor of the army."

The other is from Dreyfus, out of his lips in the prison of Rennes:

"I was at the start a scapegoat. Now I am a pretext. My personality exists no longer for those who are pursuing me. I have been in a dark night. I am beginning to see."

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE SECOND TRIAL OF CAPTAIN DREYFUS.

After four days of secret session, during which the two mysterious dossiers of the war office and foreign office were examined with closed doors, the public trial of Captain Dreyfus began at Rennes Saturday, August 12. Curiosity as to what passed during the secret session was not gratified, but it would seem that the effect of the examination of the masses of secret papers was not startling. Indeed, it is said that the court and Dreyfus and the counsel were considerably bored by having to go over what was a mass of rubbishing "evidence" which would not hang a dog, and which contains scandalous documents. Dreyfus himself, says one of the Rennes correspondents, must have been astounded by the scandalous nature of these papers, and it is just that scandalous character which is the real cause of the secrecy demanded for their perusal. The diabolical ingenuity with

which they were concocted and utilized by the well-known forgers in the pay of not less notorious villains bent on ruining Dreyfus, would surpass belief if it were not already prepared for incredible things.

#### M. CASIMIR-PERIER'S EXPLANATION.

The first day of the resumption of the public trial was devoted to the testimony of M. Delaroche Vernet, M. Casimir-Perier, ex-president of the republic, and General Mercier. Strange to say, though this was supposed to be the critical moment of the trial, the proceedings were, as a rule, very dull. M. Casimir-Perier stated that it was General Mercier who informed him of the "leakages" at the headquarters. In January of 1894 the German ambassador was instructed by Prince Hohenlohe in the name of the emperor to call on him and to ask why the German embassy was implicated by the newspapers in the Dreyfus affair, and if it proved to be not really so implicated, a formal denial was demanded. "After handing him back the dispatch," continued M. Casimir-Perier, "I pointed out to the German ambassador that the step he had taken was somewhat unusual; that I, as chief of the state, was irresponsible, and that the

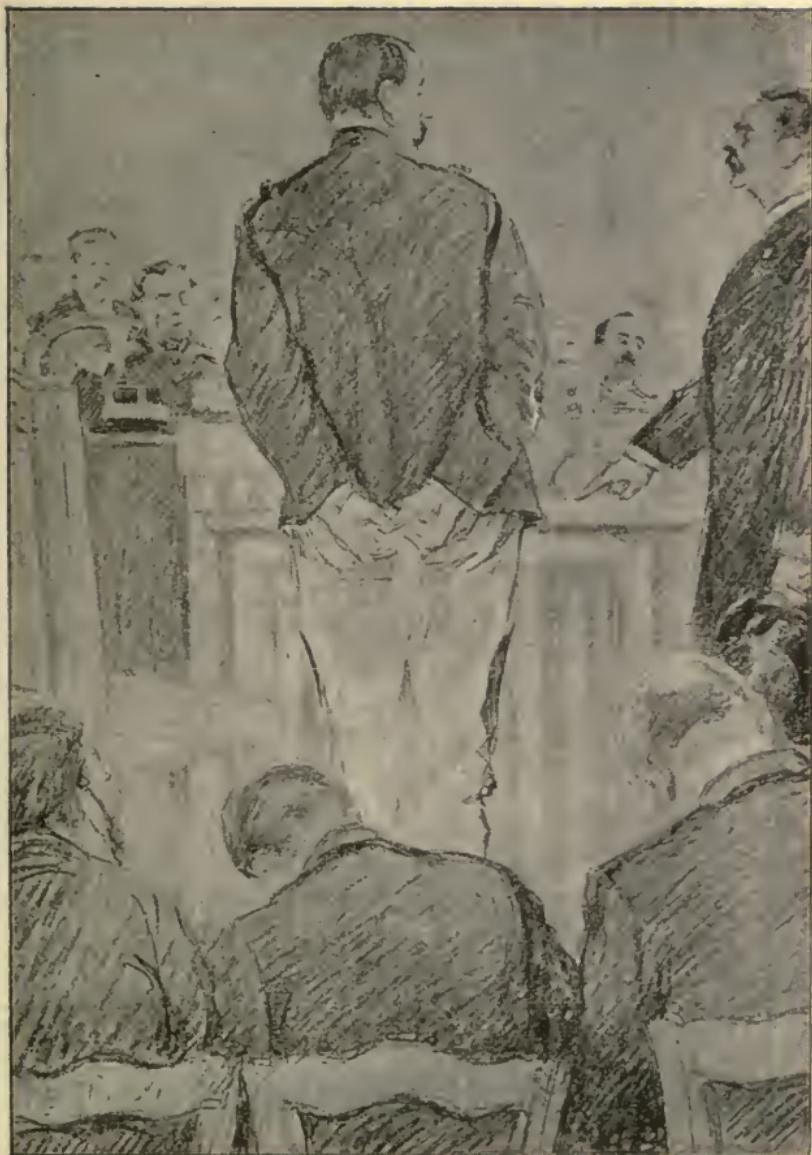
normal course would be to discuss the matter with the responsible minister, or, in his absence, with the premier; but that he had appealed to my good faith as a private individual, and that, in these circumstances, the ambassador should know all. I then told him that the document had been found at the German embassy. The ambassador replied that that seemed to him impossible, that many documents were undoubtedly received there, but that no important documents could possibly be abstracted. I replied to him that, happily, we no more than he thought the document could be important; and this declaration having been made, neither the government nor I myself implicated the German embassy in the affair, that there was no proof of the embassy having asked for this communication, and that we no more held it responsible for what it received than we ourselves could be made responsible for papers which were brought to us; but that the fact that, at the embassy of a foreign power, a document had been found which was believed to have emanated from a French officer, was sufficient to establish the guilt of that officer. The ambassador insisted on having handed to him a most categorical note clearing the embassy from all responsibility in the matter."

## GENERAL MERCIER'S "EVIDENCE."

General Mercier's "evidence" proved to be a mere rehash of the odds and ends of anti-Dreyfus gossip which had caused him to be "morally convinced" that Dreyfus had written the bordenau. He posed also as the man who saved France from a war with Germany. "To understand what happened in 1894," he said, "you must know what was the political situation at that moment," and then he went on to tell how M. Casimir-Perier, M. Dupuy, the premier, and he (Mercier) remained at the Elysee one night waiting for the communication of the telegrams which were passing between the Emperor William and the German ambassador, and were asking themselves whether the result of that exchange of communications would be peace or war. On his part, he had given orders to General de Boisdeffre to be ready, in case of need, to take all the necessary steps for our mobilization.

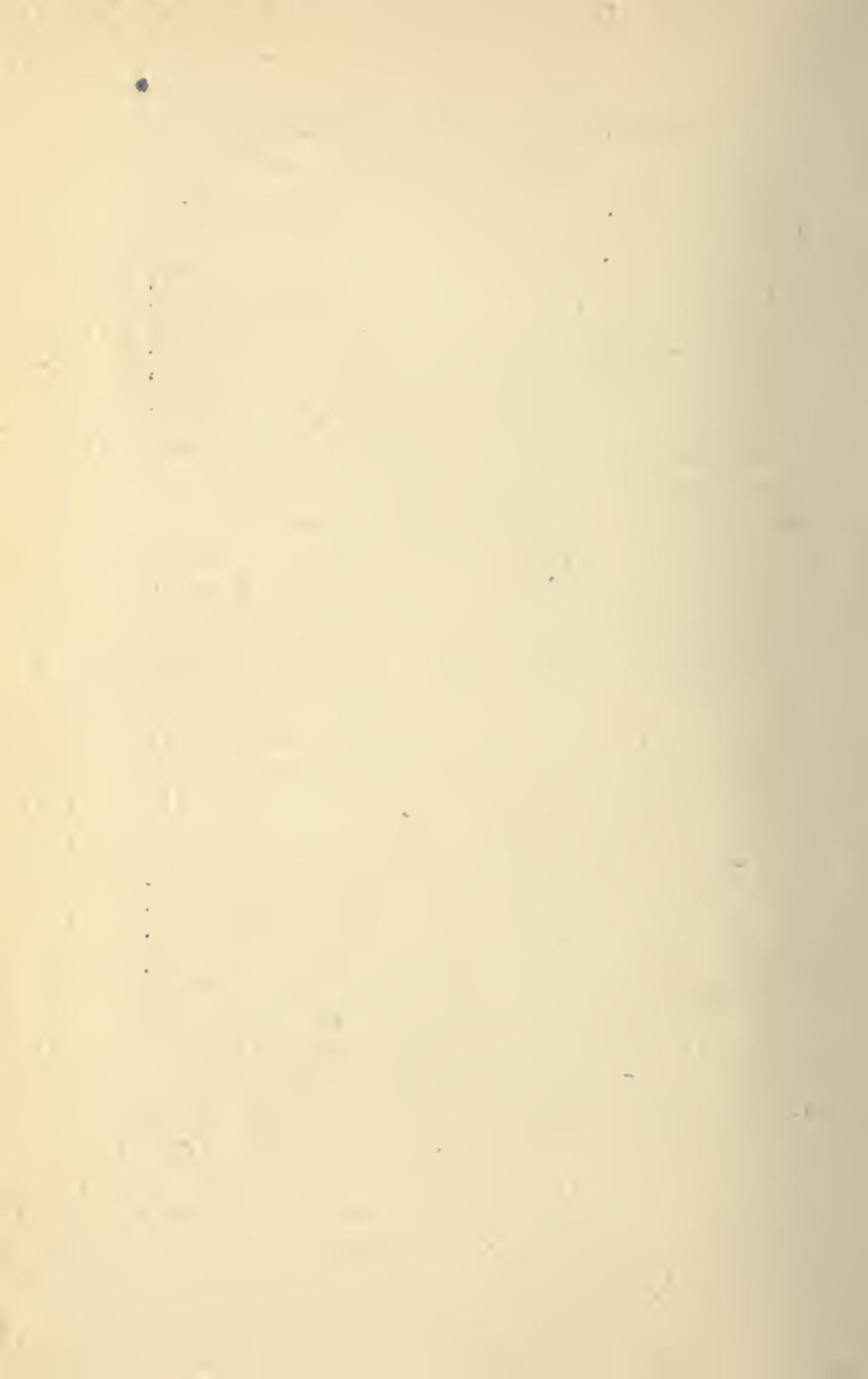
## "WITHIN TWO FINGER-BREADTHS OF WAR."

"You see, gentlemen, we were within two finger-breadths of war, and that is why I said just now that you must not always take as ready money the statements of diplomacy. At that mo-



THE COURT MARTIAL ON CAPTAIN DREYFUS AT  
RENNES

General Mercier confronted with M. Casimir-Perier at the second public sitting of the Court.



ment was I, as a statesman, to desire war for my country? No, gentlemen, and for several reasons—military reasons. Germany had begun the transformation of her rapid-fire guns, while I had hardly obtained from parliament the first credits for a few batteries. There were also diplomatic reasons. We did not know if the conventions which had been negotiated by the preceding minister of foreign affairs would be ratified, and we remained uncertain as to the attitude of Russia. There were also moral reasons. The motive of such a war would not have given us an advantageous position. Thus, on the one side we were confronted by the impossibility of telling all, and, on the other hand, we were under an obligation to place the court-martial in possession of all the facts. This was the secret dossier." With such and such-like hysterical stuff did the general take up the time of the court. M. Casimir-Perier simply contradicted it all.

Just before General Mercier concluded his "evidence" he turned towards Dreyfus and said, "If the slightest doubt had entered my mind I should be the first to say that I had blundered in good faith—" Dreyfus here sprang up and cried out: "That is what you ought to say!" "And," continued the general, "I would do all that is humanly possible to repair my blunder."

## NO DOUBT EXISTS IN THE GENERAL'S MIND.

"It is your duty," said Dreyfus, and he seemed about to rush upon his tormentor. "Well," said Mercier, "no. My conviction ever since 1894 has not undergone the slightest change. It has been strengthened by my study of the dossier, in spite of the immensity of the efforts which have been accumulated, in spite of the millions which have been insanely expended." As he left the court Mercier was hooted by some of the audience, but outside he was received with shouts of "Vive l'armee."

On Monday was committed the atrocious deed which caused so great an emotion—the attempted assassination of Maitre Labori, one of the counsel for Dreyfus, whose ability and fearlessness have always been the bugbear of the anti-Dreyfus party. Maitre Labori was on his way to the court, accompanied by Colonel Picquart and that officer's brother-in-law, M. Gast, when he was set upon by a man, who fired a revolver at him, the shot hitting him in the back. The ruffian, though pursued by Colonel Picquart and M. Gast, made good his escape. Madame Labori, who was on her way to join her husband, was soon at his side, and he was removed by his friends to his hotel. Not the least sus-

picious fact in connection with the outrage is the circumstance that the victim had his pockets rifled while lying helpless on the ground, though, as he never lost consciousness, he managed to retain his brief. The trial went on in his absence, but the evidence of Generals Billot, Zur-linden, Chanoine, and of MM. Cavaignac and Hanotaux, did not produce any effect.

### PUBLIC TRIAL.

The trial was resumed publicly early on Monday morning in the hall of the Lycee, of Rennes, before an audience of some 600 people, of whom more than half were members of the press, French and foreign. At a few minutes after seven the court appeared. The witnesses, among whom were M. Casimir-Perier, ex-president of the republic; Colonel Picquart, M. Cavaignac, ex-war minister; the experts in handwriting, and the officers of the headquarter staff of 1894, were already in their places to answer to their names. Dreyfus then entered the court, an entrance, says one of the eye-witnesses, which caused a thrill as of an apparition of one risen from the dead. Erect and calm, he saluted, took his seat, and then, after the formal documents had been read, in reply to the president, who, turning to him, but not looking him straight in the face, said:

"Accused, stand up." Dreyfus faced his judges for the second time.

The President: "You are accused of the crime of treason in having delivered to the agent of a foreign power documents enumerated in a document called the bordereau. The law gives you the right to say all that is useful for your defense, and I warn your defenders that they must express themselves with decency and moderation." Colonel Jouaust then read out the bordereau, and went on: "This document has already been brought before you. Do you acknowledge it?"

Dreyfus: "It was brought before me in 1894. As for acknowledging it, I affirm that I do not. I affirm again that I am innocent, as I have already affirmed in 1894. I have borne all for five years, colonel; I bore all for the honor of my name and my children. I am innocent, colonel."

- The President: "Then you deny the charge?"

Dreyfus: "Yes, colonel."

The president then questioned Dreyfus on each of the documents mentioned in the bordereau. To all the questions put to him during the brusque interrogatory of Colonel Jouaust, Dreyfus replied without hesitation, denying, explaining and refusing the questions one by one. Questioned as to the alleged confession made

to Captain Lebrun-Renault at his degradation, Dreyfus said: "That conversation was a soliloquy. I said, 'I am innocent.' I felt that there was a crowd there to whom they were about to show a man whom they thought had committed the most abominable crime that a soldier can commit. I wished to cry out to them, 'It is not I whom are guilty.' I said: 'I will cry out my innocence in face of the people,' and, I added, 'the minister well knows it.'"

At the end of the interrogatory the president asked Major Carriere, the government commissary, whether he had anything to say as to the communication to the court of the secret dossier. Major Carriere replied that the communication of secret dossiers ought to be made with closed doors—"dans un huis clos absolu"—and he proposed to the court-martial to vote on the question that on the following day the secret dossier of the ministry of war and the diplomatic dossier of the ministry of foreign affairs should be communicated with closed doors, and that the public sittings should be suspended for four days. The court retired to consider the point, and, on returning, the result was announced as in favor of closed doors by five votes to two.

## CHAPTER XII.

## EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES.

There was a sentence in the report from Rennes of one of the many special correspondents there, which seems to sum up in a nutshell the manner in which the trial of Dreyfus was conducted. "Colonel Jouaust seems to assist those who depose against Dreyfus; but this is due to the fear of being accused by the assassin press of favoring him." Fear! that is the word for France. Fear of war, fear of the truth, fear of the press; always fear—moral and physical cowardice—and in the midst of it all one unfortunate man, with a few who are honest and brave on his side, being tried again after years of suffering already inflicted on him by panic-stricken generals who were afraid first of Germany and then of admitting that they have made a mistake.

Maitre Labori's return to the court, after a quick recovery from the attempt on his life, has been the feature of the Dreyfus week so far. In

his absence the generals and officials who are really conducting the cowardly prosecution of Dreyfus have had their way, for Maitre Demange, Labori's colleague for the defense, has for some reason best known to himself abstained from interrupting them or cross-examining them to any great extent. With the arrival on the scene of Roget, says one of the eye-witnesses, we beheld the most eloquent and influential adversary of Dreyfus. With a singular ease and a not less effective style of categorical affirmation, and with an adroitness and rhetorical ingenuity smacking of the methods of dialectic uniformly described as Jesuitical, he spoke for two hours in his insinuating way, not merely holding the attention of the judges on account of his rare conversational powers, but interesting and surprising them by the insidious suggestiveness of his methods. He laid down the law. His air was that of a general who seemed to think that judgment by order belonged to the normal course of things. And, unlike any of his predecessors, he had steeled himself to meet the steady gaze of Dreyfus' eye. His manner in this regard was startling and dramatic. He stopped a dozen times in his indictment, quite leisurely poured himself out a glass of water, and, before and after quaffing it and while wiping the per-

spiration from his forehead, fixed Dreyfus with a steady, disdainful gaze. Dreyfus met this insolent look unflinchingly. The general was evidently trying to provoke the prisoner. He wanted a scene in court. He sought to execute Dreyfus with a look.

#### WIDOW OF COLONEL HENRY.

Madame Henry, the widow of the forger and suicide, M. Lebon, the minister of the colonies; General Zurlinden, General de Boisdeffre, and others whose names are famous in the *affaire*, have all been on the stand, but it cannot be said that their evidence has really borne upon the question of the prisoner's guilt or innocence.

Madame Henry said that if her husband committed a forgery on account of Colonel Picquart's acts it was to "save the army." Lebon said he considered the judgment of 1894 "legal and intact," and that if he had to deal again with a man thus convicted he would act again the same way—namely, inflict tortures upon him. The reading of the report of those tortures made a profound impression upon the court, and Dreyfus broke down under the recollection of what he had suffered. At the end of Lebon's deposition he said, "I have not come here to speak of the tortures and the atrocious suffer-

ings inflicted for five years on a Frenchman and an innocent man. I am here solely to defend my honor, and shall therefore say nothing of what passed for five years on the Ile du Diable."

The deposition of M. Bertulus, the juge d'instruction, was the first during the trial which was wholly in Dreyfus' favor. He spoke of the collusion between the officers of the general staff and Esterhazy; of the strong probability that Esterhazy and Henry were accomplices, and of the network of hypothesis in which it had been sought to enmesh Dreyfus. "But," he continued, "I now say to you on my soul and conscience, because I have followed the case now for many months, that I do not believe him guilty."

#### AN HEROIC AND HONORABLE FRENCHMAN.

Colonel Picquart, in discussing the authorship of the bordereau, said that, in his opinion, the department in which a search should have been made when the existence of the bordereau was discovered at the ministry of war was the department of Du Paty de Clam, because that department was at work upon the plan of the covering troops and the Madagascar expedition. It was, he repeated, in that officer's department that a

search should have been made, or, rather, in his private room, where he worked quite alone. Colonel Du Paty de Clam had been guilty of the grave imprudence of having, contrary to regulations, had confidential documents copied by mere secretaries, non-commissioned officers, or even common soldiers, whereas the custom was that such work should be done solely by officers. As to the secret dossier which Picquart saw when he was at the war office he said he was "perfectly astounded at its contents. I thought I should find in it some crushing proofs, and I found nothing." After Picquart came another relay of war office witnesses—Cuignet, De Boisdeffre, Gonse, Fabre, d'Aboville and others, of whose testimony it can only be said, as the correspondent of the *Times* remarked, that it is a farrago of old wives' tales which would shame the gossip of an afternoon tea party of village spinsters.



WOMEN AND CHILDREN MOST AFFECTED BY THE  
VERDICT



## CHAPTER XIII.

### A CRANK AND HIS SYSTEM.

The typical Dreyfus crank appeared in the person of M. Bertillon, the "expert," who had woven a spider-like web of squares and triangles and strange geometric and necromantic figures, wherein to enmesh Dreyfus; a "system" with "gabaritic master words," and "imbrications of a millimetre and a quarter"—a weird sort of abracadabra, which, in the old days, would have tended to the hanging, not of Dreyfus, but of Bertillon himself. The scene in court during Bertillon's deposition was, as one of the eye-witnesses said, like one of the old witch trials of the seventeenth century. "In a low but firm and rapid voice he began to expound. Presently, warming to his work, he leaped upon his portfolio, tore it open, and dashed at the president with a framed photograph. He darted from judge to judge; the government commissary and the registrar and the counsel gathered round.

Then, suddenly, with a wild whoop, he burst out of the throng, waving the frame round and round his head, like a tomahawk. "Five millimetres reticulation," he yelled in triumph; "12.5 centimetres gabarit and a millimetre and a quarter imbrication! Always you find it—always—always!"

Among the other experts—but a man very different from Bertillon—was M. Gobert, the expert to the Bank of France, who expressed his conviction that the writing of the bordereau was natural writing, and who came into conflict with General Gonse on the question of the bordereau and the relations of the Bank of France with the officers of the First Bureau. Dreyfus, whose demeanor was very much changed from the early days of the trial, being bolder and firmer and more assertive of his rights, denied ever having been to the bank at all. On the whole, therefore, Gonse did not come out well, and the tactics of the generals received another check. The return of Maitre Labori to the court after his recovery had led to an incident which was the subject of some comment at the time—the friendly greeting between him and Mercier; but it soon became apparent that the generals would have to do their best—or worst—under the keen counter-attack of the famous advocate.

## DOWN THE GAUNTLET.

The culminating point of interest in the proceedings was reached when Captain Freystaetter was called. He was one of the judges at the original court-martial in 1894, and he was now confronted with Colonel Maurel, who was the president at that trial. Freystaetter now deposed that his belief in the prisoner's guilt was due to the evidence of the experts and of Major Henry and Major Du Paty de Clam. It was strengthened by the reading of the secret documents which were communicated to them in the judges' room. The secret dossier contained (1) a biographical dossier imputing to Dreyfus acts of treason committed at the gunnery school at Bourges, at the Military College, and while he was at the headquarters staff; (2) the document known by the name of "Ce canaille de D——;" (3) a letter which by showing the resemblance in handwriting proved the genuineness of the document "Ce canaille de D——," and which was known as the Davignon letter; (4) a telegram from a foreign military attache which positively asserted the prisoner's guilt. "This telegram, if I remember rightly," continued Captain Freystaetter, "was in the following terms: 'Dreyfus arrested; emissary warned.' "

## A SCENE IN COURT.

Forthwith Maurel and Mercier rose and demanded to be heard. Maurel spoke first. "I have only one word to say," he exclaimed. "The other day Maitre Labori drew me from the grounds of argument to that of the secret deliberations. I replied: 'I only read one document.' I did not say that only one document was read. I did not go further than that, as I did not wish to violate the secret of the judges' deliberations. In answer to questions of counsel for the defense, which might have led me to say more than I wished, I said, 'I only read one document.' After reading that document I handed the dossier to the clerk, remarking, 'I am tired.' "

Maitre Labori requested the president to ask Colonel Maurel whether he confirmed the explanation given by Captain Freystaetter, and whether he confirmed what the latter had said in regard to him. Colonel Maurel said, "I reply in all frankness and in all truth. I only listened to the reading of the documents in a very absent-minded way. It was not interesting. That is all, Monsieur le President; I remember nothing else." Freystaetter then stated that he had only seen these documents, but that Colonel Maurel had them in his hands. And, further,

that Maurel made a comment on each document. Colonel Maurel protested against the word "comment," and pale with anger went on to say: "I could not act in the matter as Captain Freystaetter asserts. I was too conscious of my duty to allow myself to influence in any way whatsoever the judges, whose president I was, and if what Captain Freystaetter has just said of me had been done in my presence, if the president had attempted to exercise pressure on me, a judge, if he had attempted to influence me, notwithstanding his age, notwithstanding his rank, notwithstanding his office, I should have reminded him of his duty. I should not have waited five years before coming forward to provoke a scene in open court. I have finished. I will say no more in reply to Captain Freystaetter."

#### "CAUGHT IN THE ACT OF LYING."

Maitre Labori then invited General Mercier to furnish some explanation, and the general asked Freystaetter what was referred to in the note to which he had alluded. "It referred to a shell," said Freystaetter. "Very well," said Mercier, "Captain Freystaetter is caught in the very act of lying, for the Robin shell was only adopted by Germany in 1895 and we were not informed

of the treachery until 1896." Freystaetter adhered to his statement that a shell was mentioned in the comments which were submitted to the judges in 1894. Mercier, then, referring to the telegram of November 2, maintained that it was not communicated to the court in 1894, whereupon Freystaetter said that he was sure he saw it. Maitre Labori, rising, said that in view of the scene which had just occurred he insisted that the condition of the health of Colonel Du Paty de Clam should be examined by well-known doctors, General Mercier having already stated that the packet containing the secret documents was prepared by Du Paty de Clam. To this Mercier replied that he had said that he had learned from General Boisdeffre that the packet had been delivered by Du Paty de Clam, and that he had said that it was Colonel Sandherr who had prepared it. "Always the dead!" exclaimed Labori. "Colonel Sandherr is dead, Colonel Henry is dead, and it is their testimony that is constantly cited." And so ended one of the most exciting scenes of the Dreyfus drama. Mercier, who had the day before said that he assumed the moral responsibility of communicating the secret dossier to the court-martial of 1894, now quibbling and giving the lie direct; Maurel, trembling beneath the fierce or-

deal of confrontation with one of his fellow-judges of 1894; and Freystaetter, calm under insult, holding to convictions which all who have followed the course of the trial believed to be true and sincere—these have done much to turn public opinion in the favor of Captain Dreyfus.

M. DE FREYCINET KNOWS NOTHING  
ABOUT THE DREYFUS DE-  
FENSE FUND.

M. de Freycinet, ex-minister of war, then gave his testimony, such as it was, to the court. He said he had had a conversation with General Jamont as to the funds supplied abroad for the defense of Dreyfus, but that of himself he knew nothing definite on the subject beyond what the French agents abroad had reported. What had struck him most in the conversation was the identity of their anxiety as to the army. M. de Freycinet concluded his evidence by an appeal to all to "cease throwing in one another's faces those accusations which discredit us in the eyes of our rivals. Gentlemen, let us prepare, and I would that my feeble voice were heard by all—let us prepare to accept your judgment with respect and in silence. May the judgment of this French court, towards which the whole world

has its eyes turned, open the era of reconciliation which is so necessary."

It was an impressive appeal, no doubt. But it made no mention of the man who had suffered most under the accusation which had brought discredit upon the army and upon France. Those who expected much from the "White Mouse" were disappointed, but others who knew M. de Freycinet knew that the wily old politician would never say a direct "Yes" or "No" to any question if he could wriggle out of it. And he did wriggle out of it in his best style.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### END OF THE FAMOUS TRIAL.

While groups of soldiers threw dice in the courtyard of the Lycee in the afternoon of September 9, five French officers did a deed which history will place side by side with the judgment of Pilate. The Roman governor crucified an innocent man to please a mob. This tribunal condemned an innocent man to satisfy the vanity of a few generals.

The parallel runs farther. The martyr of nineteen hundred years ago incarnated the virtue and regeneration of his race. The victim of this judgment typifies the truth and righteousness of modern civilization. Calvary involved more than the fate of the Jewish people, and the Dreyfus case signifies more than the political future of France, which it directly concerns.

The consequences will be so far reaching and so important to the vital interests of humanity at large that the fate of the individual directly affected can hardly enter into the account in estimating what the future portends.

### VISIBLE CURSE UPON FRANCE.

It is not even worth while to denounce the five men whose voices brought France face to face with the most terrible crisis in all her bloody history. They stand for that new element in civilization which makes Europe an armed camp in time of peace.

They represent that new thing in ethics, "military justice." They typify that visible curse which descends upon France about once in a generation—arrogance, intolerance and blind discontent with the existing order of things.

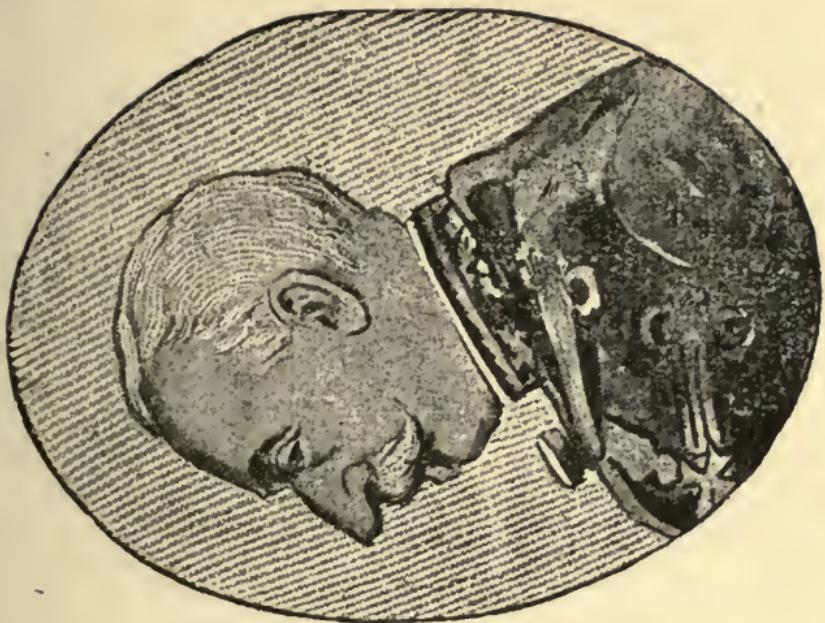
In the dispatches it was said that a verdict of condemnation after the refusal of the judges to hear Colonel Schwartzkoppen and Panizzardi, the only witnesses whose evidence would clearly demonstrate the prisoner's guilt or innocence, would mean the existence of a military revolutionary plot.

Danger of this kind never appears at the moment it is expected in France. It is when precautions are relaxed that the blow falls, and so it may prove ere long.

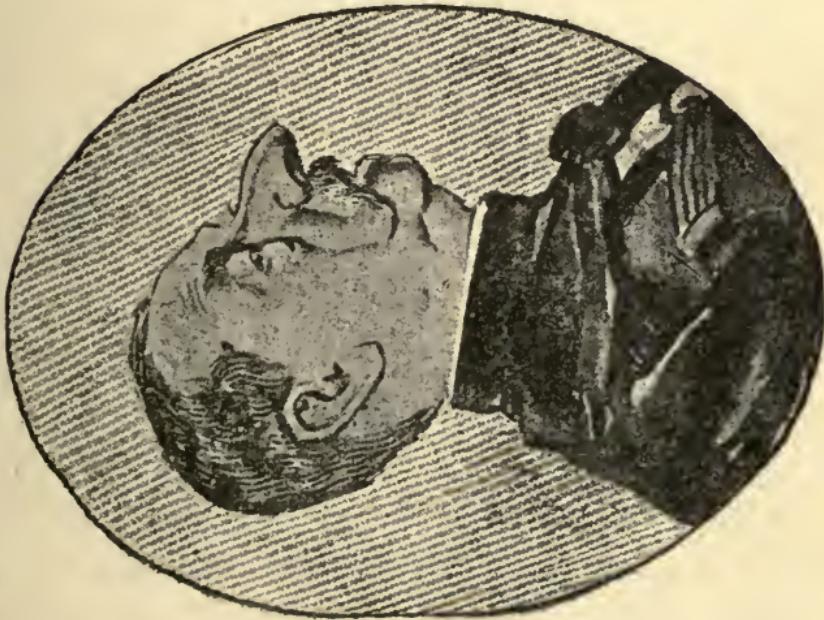
### CLOSING DAYS OF THE TRIAL.

The judges returned to the court room to render their verdict at a quarter to five. The au-

GENERAL ROGET



GENERAL MERCIER



Portraits are from sketches made in the courtroom by artists for *L'Illustration* and *Le Monde Illustré*. General Mercier's face is shown as it appeared while he was delivering his "evidence" against Dreyfus.



dience was standing, and all ears were strained to catch the vital word.

The president's voice was low and rapid. General Jouaust read in a monotone till he came to the word "guilty."

A strange sound arose all over the court—a general gasp, a curse, a stamp of a foot, then breathless silence. Confusion was caused by a man fainting. He was held up by friends, who kept their eyes fixed on the judges. The end of the judgment was awaited with anxiety.

All the gendarmes turned and faced the audience, expecting an outbreak. But there was no further manifestations. The audience filed out in good order.

#### IMPRISONMENT FOR TEN YEARS.

The sentence was ten years' imprisonment in a French fortress. The five years he had already served did not count; he must serve ten years from the day of degradation, which must take place within fifteen days, if there be no appeal to the Court of Revision within eight days.

The judges took one ballot on the question, is Dreyfus guilty or not? Two judges voted no.

The judges then discussed the penalty. The two judges in favor of Dreyfus pressed for a low penalty on account of his sufferings and induced

the others to fix it at ten years, which is the lowest possible penalty for the crime of which he was found guilty. In fact, the judges lowered the penalty to two degrees less than has ever before been known in the French army for a conviction of this kind.

#### EFFECT ON PRISONER AND LAWYERS.

Dreyfus was waiting, with feelings that can only be imagined, in a room back of the stage. Labori sat in a chair as if paralyzed. A moment before, as the judges came in, he had been pulling the end of his beard in quiet satisfaction, confident that after Demange's speech the verdict would be four to three. The result stupefied him. Demange sat collapsed, saddened to the last degree. It was evident in the heat, fervor and feeling of the close of his speech that his whole heart was set in securing the freedom of his client. His voice was deeply hoarse, worn down by his long speech; his face was as solemn as tragedy. When the verdict came he sat like a man who has just heard news of death.

M. Hild stepped along the corridor to the room where Dreyfus was, went in, and closed the door. Dreyfus looked at him and saw from his face he had bad news. Dreyfus said: "Tell me." "Ten years in a French fortress."

Dreyfus turned white, sank into a chair, and covered his face with his hands. He sat a long time, neither Hild nor the gendarme saying anything. Then an usher came to call Dreyfus.

He said: "One moment."

He rose like a drunken man, his eyes unsteady, and passed his hand over his brow. The color was all gone out of his face. The usher gave him a moment to pull himself together, then the prisoner went into court to hear the decision read. Dreyfus listened stupidly, facing Coupois, who read it. He said nothing, went out, and was taken over to prison like a man under the influence of morphine.

### SCENES ABOUT THE COURT.

Words cannot describe the painful, tremendous shock of the verdict. When the judges came in their faces were eagerly scanned. They gave everybody hope. Jouaust looked gentle and genial; even Brogniart looked quietly pleased. All the court looked like men who had done a kindly act and felt better. The curse which went up from the audience was so bitter, so strange, when the verdict was given that those who heard it will never forget it. Then men turned their heads away and took no further notice of the penalty. Dreyfus was guilty. Hope

was gone. The Dreyfusards were depressed, busy with their own thoughts. The anti-Dreyfus men were maliciously satisfied. Their lips curled in contemptuous triumph. The police and gendarmes hurried everybody away from the Lycee and absolutely barred return.

Outside the court, in the squares and cafes, a sort of spell seemed to be over men—over the whole city. There was no outbreak, no threat, no anger, no passion. Everybody seemed to be in a state of shock.

This shows how general was the conviction that the verdict would be at least four to three. It was fully an hour before bitterness began to manifest itself, beginning with fiery, caustic dispatches which Socialists and Dreyfusards began to place on the wires.

#### MME. DREYFUS PREPARED FOR VERDICT.

Meanwhile the sickening news was being conveyed to Mme. Dreyfus by Georges Hadamard, her brother. Hadamard is a gentle fellow, slender, about 35, with a small blonde mustache. He used to ride up the Rue with confidence and joy. He fully expected acquittal, as did Mme. Dreyfus up to the last moment. He walked slowly up the Avenue de la Gare to the house,

about three blocks away. His father, impatient, came out of the gate to meet him. When he heard the news he stopped a moment to realize it. Then both went in together. Mme. Hadamard, the mother of Mme. Dreyfus, was on the steps of the house, crying. She did not need to be told. Then all went in together. Georges told the news to the old people, who tried to comfort their daughter.

Mme. Dreyfus took it calmly, as if prepared for it. The only agony she seemed to experience was dread of the second degradation, from which she recoiled in horror.

#### HOW THE JUDGES VOTED.

The scene when the judges balloted will be memorable. General Jouaust said:

"The first question before the council is whether or not the accused is guilty of having communicated the documents mentioned in the bordereau to a foreign power. The members of the council will answer 'yes' or 'no' as their names are called." He then called the roll, with the following responses:

Lieutenant Colonel Brongniart—Yes.

Lieutenant Colonel de Breon—No.

Commandant Merle—Yes.

Captain Parfait—Yes.

Captain Beauvais—No.

Captain Profillet—Yes.

There was a moment of suspense, which was ended sharply by Jouaust saying: "The president of the council votes yes."

The long struggle of years for revision and rehabilitation of honor was at an end.

## CHAPTER XV.

### RECAPITULATION OF THE COURT OF CASSATION.

What the Supreme Tribunal of France Decided  
in the Dreyfus Case, and How the Court-  
Martial Defied its Judgments and  
Nullified Its Intent to the Un-  
doing of Law and the  
Defeat of Justice.

The verdict of the Rennes court-martial in the Dreyfus case was in flagrant contempt and defiance of the opinion of the very highest court in France.

The Court of Cassation is the supreme tribunal of the republic. It was composed of forty-seven eminent jurists—the most eminent in France—when it examined the evidence in the Dreyfus case and decided not only that the accused was innocent but—to quote its own emphatic words—that—

“The sentence of 1894 has no longer any foundation to rest upon.”

Upon the evidence of the bordereau itself and of the experts who had examined it the Court of Cassation decided positively, and without so much as a doubt in the minds of the eminent judges :

That Dreyfus did not write that paper, and that Esterhazy did ;

That Dreyfus did not sell or give information to the possible enemies of France, and that Esterhazy did ;

That Dreyfus was innocent and Esterhazy guilty.

The highest court in France decided further :

That the conviction of Dreyfus had been secured by the Henry forgery and other crimes ;

That a false date had been given to the undated bordereau in order to convict Dreyfus, and that the same conspirators who had assigned this date to it afterward gave it a widely different date in order to acquit Esterhazy ;

That the change of date left no room whatever for the condemnation of Dreyfus, but in fact established his innocence.

Still further this highest court in France decided :

That false, fraudulent and inadmissible testimony had been submitted against Dreyfus ;

That the reports of official inquiries which

tended to his acquittal had been improperly withheld from the court that condemned him;

And further that an official report concerning attendance at the maneuvers, the very terms of which showed that Dreyfus could not have been the author of the bordereau, had been withheld at his trial, although it mightily tended to establish his innocence of the charge against him.

The court found still other evidence of the utmost importance that had been suppressed at the trial, and in at least one case (that of the Panizzardi telegram) it found that the genuine telegram had been withheld and a forgery substituted for it—that the genuine established Dreyfus' innocence, while the forgery was testimony of his guilt.

It found that the alleged confession of Dreyfus was in fact a passionate protestation of innocence instead, and that the parts of it which were interpreted by the court-martial as an admission of guilt were so variously and conflictingly reported as to be unworthy of belief or even of consideration.

It declared upon documentary evidence, to quote its own language, that "Dreyfus never confessed nor could have confessed to being guilty."

It found that official documents had been suppressed which, in the court's own language, "establish that Dreyfus had no relations, direct or indirect, with any foreign power."

In brief, the highest court in France, with forty-seven eminent judges sitting, fully examined all the testimony in this case, and after an exhaustive consideration decided not only that Dreyfus was convicted without sufficient proof of his guilt, but that the testimony itself proved his innocence.

Under the technicalities of procedure the court could not directly order the man's release and restoration to his former status in the army. It could only order a new trial, which it manifestly intended to be nothing more than a form, an orderly method of undoing the mistake or the crime of Dreyfus' conviction and making such reparation as was still possible to the grievously wronged man. As the National Review said at the time: "It will be seen from reading the text of the decision that it leaves nothing to the court-martial except to make a formal acknowledgment that Dreyfus was not the author of the bordereau, and therefore not the betrayer of the documents mentioned therein."

The court-martial at Rennes utterly and even insolently disregarded the intent of the Court



MAJOR ESTERHAZY

He has repeatedly confessed that he wrote the Dreyfus bor-dereau, and the Supreme Court of France decided that he did write it. The Rennes court-martial, nevertheless, condemns Dreyfus for the crime which Esterhazy confesses. Believed to have been the go-between of the traitors on the French general staff.



of Cassation. It held a totally new trial. It followed the example of its predecessor in excluding the most vital evidence, official and other, and in admitting the testimony of men who had nothing but hearsay to report, opinions to exploit and malignity to vent. Even with such unfairness governing the court's procedure no proof of the accused man's guilt was presented, while the proofs of his innocence were so conclusive as to convince every honest mind.

Nevertheless this shoulder-strapped tribunal contemptuously overruled the Court of Cassation, set all the laws of evidence at defiance and declared Dreyfus guilty upon testimony that clearly proves his innocence.

#### MEN WHO JUDGED DREYFUS.

The members of the second court before which Dreyfus appeared are:

COLONEL JOUAUST, director in the engineer corps, president.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL BRONGNIART, director of the School of Artillery.

MAJOR DE BREON of the Seventh Regiment of Artillery.

MAJOR PROFILLET of the Tenth Regiment of Artillery.

MAJOR MERLE of the Seventh Regiment of Artillery.

CAPTAIN PARFAIT of the Seventh Regiment of Artillery.

CAPTAIN BEAUVAIIS of the Seventh Regiment of Artillery.

#### OPINION OF A NOTED JEWISH WRITER.

Of the second condemnation Israel Zangwill wrote:

The most important part of the Dreyfus trial was doubtless that which was within closed doors. It seems to me a tug of war between the army and the government, and the army has for the moment gained the upper hand.

I have always maintained that it was not Dreyfus who was on trial, but France, and therefore it is France against whom the verdict of guilty has been returned.

#### IN PERIL AS A NATION.

By this burlesque of justice, this glossing over of all suspicious facts against the generals and this obstinate ignoring of all the series of murder, suicides and attempted assassinations; this ridiculous assumption that behind all this smoke there was not one spark of fire, France—if she

allows herself to be represented by this military crew—has abdicated as a center of light among nations, if even she has not ceased to exist altogether as a nation, for procuring mutual justice is the first reason why men band themselves in groups and nations.

It is horrible to think of what the prophets and poets of France have dreamed for her and then to witness this national shipwreck. You will find Victor Hugo and Zola speaking of Paris much as the old Hebrew prophets spoke of Jerusalem as the place from which the law should go forth to the nations. Now I suppose Zola will again be in danger of his life and liberty, much as Jeremiah was in old Jerusalem just before its destruction.

### VICTIM OF CONSPIRACY.

Those who may be inclined to think that two courts-martial cannot be mistaken must remember that the two trials are not independent of each other, for, if Dreyfus was a victim of conspiracy in one instance, then the conspirators were ex hypothesi, such desperate scoundrels that they may be trusted to have done anything to save their skins when threatened with discovery.

There can be no extenuating circumstances.

They probably represent the guilty consciences or the apprehensions of the enemy. In short, this compromise only compromises the prosecution. Dreyfus and his friends will not accept it.

#### NEEDS NEW MAGNA CHARTA.

Yes, no doubt Dreyfus will continue his fight for justice, although everyone must have a personal grudge against France for simply taking up so much of the world's time, for we are all sick to death of the affair.

People say: "Well, after all, it is only one man's life." But it is not one man's life that is at stake. It is the life of a great nation. In this return to mediaeval barbarism what Frenchman can say that he is safe? France needs a new magna charta.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### TWO REMARKABLE CHARACTERS OF THE TRIAL.

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#### ESTERHAZY.

The part played by Esterhazy in the entire drama is almost unparalleled. Though born of French parents, he was brought up in Austria, and was educated at an Austrian military school. He became a cavalry officer in the Austrian service, and took part in the campaign of 1866 in Italy. Quitting the Austrian army, he was admitted as sub-lieutenant into the Legion of Antibes in the Papal Zouaves, and fought in the battle of Mentana. He then came to France, and, through the influence of his uncle, a general of division, was made an officer of the French Foreign Legion. He was in active service during the war of 1870-71 in the Army of the Loire, and afterwards a lieutenant in an infantry regiment. He has always been erratic

in his habits. M. Grenier, son of General Grenier, who has given a sketch of Esterhazy's life, excuses his eccentricities on the ground of hereditary disease. At one time he talked continually of letters he had written to a lady fourteen years before; at another time he gives expression to feelings of hatred against the French army. He spent several fortunes and misappropriated his wife's dowry. In connection with a duel in which he acted as second he gave advice which proved fatal to one of the combatants. The war minister, General Billot, though he must have known something about Esterhazy's shady reputation, appears to have made use of an individual whom he did not hesitate to describe as a "bandit." In order to protect Esterhazy, a letter was sent by Du Paty de Clam, after consultation with Gonse and Henry, and a rendezvous took place in front of the Parc de Montsouris, at which Du Paty de Clam appeared with a false beard, Gribelin with blue spectacles, and Henry seated in a carriage where he was partly concealed from view.

It is unnecessary to discuss here the relations of Esterhazy to Mlle. Pays, whose connection with the Dreyfus case consists chiefly of certain revelations made as to the authorship of documents in moments of "feminine volubility." Not

merely forgery, but the surreptitious removal of official papers can be laid at this man's door.

### THE REAL TRAITOR.

Mr. Northrop had the following remarkable interview with him for "Black and White":

A Judas, a confessed traitor, a mercenary, the tool of the general staff of France, the real culprit of the Dreyfus affaire, the deep-dyed villain for whom an honorable soldier has suffered years of martyrdom; these are the unpleasant epithets with which most men sum up their conception of one Marie Charles Ferdinand Esterhazy, erstwhile major in the French army, now, exile and refugee.

As the searchlight of the Rennes trial penetrates deeper and deeper the darkness surrounding this terrible affaire, it brings into clear vision two very evident facts. First, the absolute innocence of Captain Dreyfus on the evidence; secondly, the guilt of Esterhazy, judged by the same standards.

Jesuitical distinction admits of a variety of degrees of culpability; and it is not going too far to say that a Jesuitical distinction is at the bottom of the Dreyfus affaire.

"Morally," said Major Esterhazy to me, in

discussing the *affaire*, when I recently called on him at his rooms, 40 Upper Gloucester place, Dorset Square, "morally, Captain Dreyfus was guilty of treason; but, legally, substantially, no. When the French general staff became convinced of the moral guilt of Dreyfus, it was necessary to find proof in substance of this moral guilt. That was the task imposed upon me. By the express orders of Colonel Sandherr I wrote the *bordereau*. My object in writing the *bordereau* was to furnish the material proof which was required in order to form the basis on which rested the moral evidence. It was with an object such as this that Colonel Henry also prepared his documents."

"Then, as I understand it," was my next question to the major, "you did nothing without the express orders of your superiors?"

"That is my position exactly," was the response, "and I have ample proof to substantiate this position. Now, during the trial, I shall maintain silence on the true inwardness of these points," continued Major Esterhazy; "but, so soon as the Rennes court-martial shall be over, the French general staff and the world shall hear from me. To-day, I am cast out, abandoned, made the scapegoat. Last year it was not so. The generals, whom I have faithfully served,

have turned against me. My turn shall come when the Rennes trial is finished.

"They are trying to maintain that it was not I who wrote the bordereau. But look, I will show you."

From his writing table he selected a piece of paper, and, placing beside it a facsimile of the famous bordereau, began writing in a free, easy, flowing hand the opening sentences. I watched him as he wrote. There seemed little attempt to make an exact copy. There was no tracing.

Yet the two writings, on comparison, were almost identical, with the exception of one or two letters, to which differences Esterhazy himself called attention.

"The 'M' is somewhat different. But I have four ways of writing 'M,'" he said, "and the small 'j' differs a little. But, you must know, my handwriting is extremely irregular."

He then illustrated his different methods of writing "M." One of the characters was the German capital letter.

Pasting a facsimile of the bordereau on a sheet of thick white paper, through which it would be most difficult to trace, I requested Major Esterhazy to copy a number of lines of the bordereau on the remaining portion of the sheet. He did so. With half an eye one may see that

the handwritings are identical. The copy of the bordereau written by Esterhazy is reproduced herewith. It was done for me without apparent motive or vulgar "consideration"—merely to satisfy my curiosity.

This spontaneous demonstration on the part of Esterhazy proves him to be either the author of the bordereau, or the most accomplished forger of the century. Comparing his handwriting prior to 1894 to his present calligraphy, and both with the bordereau, the first hypothesis only is acceptable. This without any Bertillonic attempt to make square ends fit round holes.

"Acknowledging yourself, then, the author of the bordereau," said I, "would it not have been better policy for you to remain on friendly terms with the generals? Was it not imprudent to confess writing the document?"

"I confessed because I was angered at certain of the generals; they have deserted me. But of this I will not now speak. It will all be in the book which I intend publishing before very long. Then will it be shown who is guilty. I will print in the book all the photographs and all my proofs. I shall demonstrate clearly the entire Dreyfus case. Perhaps I shall go to America to lecture, and the whole world shall know the inmost truth of the matter. At present everyone



MAITRE DEMANGE

The eminent advocate who defended Dreyfus at both his trials and whose eloquent plea won general applause.



seems to be in the dark. Statements of the most absurd character are being circulated."

"It is said that you are the author of the *petit bleu*?"

"I am not," responded Major Esterhazy emphatically. "The author of the *petit bleu* was the spy, Lemercier-Picard."

"Have any attempts been made on your life in order to get you out of the way?"

"Yes, twice; but whether instigated by the generals or no I will not say. In Rotterdam, when I was walking by the canal one day, a crowd of four or five hundred people made a demonstration at me, as if to throw me into the water. I drew my knife—this one here," he said, showing me a dagger which rested, along with a pistol, in a dish on his table—"and, seizing one man from the crowd, told the mad people that if they approached I would kill the man I had seized. My hostage pleaded pitifully for his life. When I had returned to a safer part of the town I released my unwilling prisoner.

"On another occasion, while dining with a lady friend in the same city, I received a box. I opened it in the lunch room. There was an explosion. Fortunately—or unfortunately for my enemies—I remained unhurt.

"But I am not afraid. It is not in my nature

to fear anyone. I do not go armed here in London, because I know the English people are not cowards. I have been in all parts of the city, and, though many times recognized, no one has offered me injury or insult.

"Yes, perhaps the fact of my being alive is very annoying to many in France," he added naively. "They say that I shall soon put an end to my existence, that my manner of living is extravagant, and that when I can no longer follow it I shall suicide. But, you see, I still live."

The major smiled grimly, and coughed with some violence. He seems in the poorest health.

"Do you intend returning to France at any time?"

"No; to return to France would mean immediate imprisonment. To be in prison would be the same as to be dead—like Henry. Now I am free. I can write and speak freely, and show the world the truth of all these mysterious matters. I can have these proofs published."

He showed me a number of photographic plates on which, he said, were orders from men "in high places" commanding him to "arrange" (i. e., doctor) certain documents and invent others. If his proofs are genuine, it seems that when the time comes—though why it should not

be now I cannot understand—he will have something startling to say.

One of the orders which he had photographed was from Du Paty de Clam. Esterhazy smiled when he came to this plate

"Du Paty says that he is ill, and has doctors to prove it. I know that he is very well. I know that he is kept away from the Rennes trial purposely. It is true he is in bed; but" [here he shrugged his shoulders significantly] "any man can go to bed. I am to-day more ill than Du Paty."

The personality of Major Esterhazy is a striking one. Tall and broad-shouldered, his bearing would be military were it not for the stoop in his shoulders, which gives him somewhat the appearance of a consumptive. His hands are long, the fingers being well shaped and very slender. With the features of Major Esterhazy most are familiar through photographs which have appeared of him. The common photograph of Esterhazy shows him in a military kepi and wearing a long, full mustache. At present he wears dark side whiskers as well as a mustache. His face is much fuller than it is usually depicted. The eyes are brown and somewhat protruding. The nose is Jewish. A firm chin imparts a very determined expression to the face.

Major Esterhazy lives in the "drawing-rooms" of a typical London "apartment house" of the Bloomsbury pattern. Possibly the most conspicuous object in the room is the fruit dish, in which are ostentatiously displayed the knife and pistol already mentioned. They are held in a belt, which the major doubtless wears when anticipating a visit from the assassin commissioned by certain French generals to remove him before he can publish his damning revelations. Whether Esterhazy knows all he claims to know; whether he holds in his hands the proof of the French generals' perfidy; whether he acted as a mere automaton to carry out questionable and criminal orders, the fact remains that he is the only man living who can throw any light on some of the blackest episodes of the Dreyfus affaire.

#### MAITRE LABORI.

Notwithstanding the many witnesses of the attempted assassination of Labori, not to mention those who saw his wound, the enemies of Dreyfus asserted publicly and through their newspapers that no such thing had taken place, and that he had not been wounded. They claimed that the supposed attack by a supposed

assassin was merely a trick to gain sympathy for the accused.

To counteract this, not only was the testimony of witnesses and attending physicians given, but photographs of the wound were taken. One of these was a radiograph by the X rays of Professor Roentgen. Against the evidence of this authenticated photograph, the conscienceless enemy was compelled to become silent.

Fortunately, although the assassin's bullet passed within a hair's breadth of the spinal column, Maitre Labori escaped with his life. He returned to the court on August 22d, and after a most brilliant cross-examination of General Mercier, incidentally revealed to the court the first cause of his belief in Dreyfus' innocence. A fortnight after the degradation of Captain Dreyfus, the Maitre was present at a dinner in which Colonel Bertin, his old friend, took part. In the course of the dinner Colonel Bertin became rather excited in talking about Dreyfus, and when Maitre Labori spoke about Maitre Demange's belief in the innocence of Dreyfus, the colonel cried: "Demange, don't mention him. He is counsel for the German embassy!"—also that Demange had defended other spies, and that he was officially appointed to do so. Maitre Labori then explained to the court that Colonel

Bertin's remarks opened his eyes. He began to wonder what security there was in an oath, or in the judgment of men who could so readily believe things which were so ridiculous. From that day he began to believe in the innocence of Captain Dreyfus.

And from that day the honest Maitre fought for Dreyfus with a fervor and ability that won the admiration of everybody. No one who has seen even a photograph of his face can fail to be struck by the frankness and straightforwardness of his expression. He is for the truth, at whatever cost; and yet he never set up to be a saintly martyr, even when the bullet of the assassin had laid him low. Jolly French good-humor bubbles out of his eyes, and sends perpetual merriment into the souls of his friends. Then as to his skill in cross-examination and ready repartee, ask the general staff! How many unpleasant hours and spoilt dinners must they have to put down to Maitre Labori's telling questions! No military reserve could hold out against his penetrating insight. Silence becomes in his hands a speaking witness, and reserve an expressive sulkiness. No wonder then that the defense in especial welcomed his return, knowing him to be such a tower of strength.

### LABORI'S RETURN.

In the crowded court room word passed about that Labori was expected. Even in the full gallop of French conversation eyes perpetually shifted toward the door. And suddenly, in a second, everybody knew that he was there. There moved in the great figure in the white edged black gown, and the little black advocate's bonnet clinging dandily to the side of his head, like a soldier's, with the big, eager face and the shock of unruly brown hair.

He came in alert and eager, conscious, like all orators, of the effect he made, frankly delighting in it—a spirit half electricity and half sunshine. Officers and sight-seers and journalists alike leaped up and clapped. He moved toward his place breast-deep in hand shakes. General Mercier got up from his seat, walked over and shook his hand. Awhile the two stood bowing, smiling, talking easily—the two champions in the mortal fight for a man's life and the dominion of France—each accuser and each accused—each well knowing that the victory he is striving after is the utter downfall of the other. But for those unaffected minutes Labori and Mercier were nothing but two honest men and gentlemen. France may have lost much that was

great during these years of action, but there still remains French courtesy.

"Presentez a-r-rmes! The rifles clatter; the court enters, salutes, takes its seat. Then the president—he, too, a model of suave and sincere courtesy—expresses the sympathy of the judges, congratulates the lawyer on his escape. He rises to reply.

"Do not tire yourself," says the colonel; but you might as well try to stop the earth in its orbit as the natural orator when his feelings are aflood.

He rises—his huge figure just a little bent, his color the flush of fever rather than of health, his voice retaining the warmth and music of its old tones, but without the fire and ringing steel—and out it pours. The words rush out in a stream, yet, despite the softness of the utterance, their articulation is such that from the back of the hall you hear almost every one. He speaks of the cruelty of the blow that struck him down at the moment of realizing his two years' dream-of pleading this case in all its amplitude before a military tribunal—of his sorrow then and his joy to-day; he thanks first the court and then everybody, known and unknown, friend and foe, who have expressed sympathy with him; gives all to know that he has come back to fight

and win; and concludes melodiously that the part of error in human affairs is always greater than the part of bad faith.

In an Englishman it would have disgusted; in a common Frenchman it would have moved a kindly smile; in Labori it touched and stirred and thrilled. Here, at last, was an orator. Whether he meant it all or not—and for my part I make no doubt he did—mattered nothing to the oratory; the rest of us, whatever we felt, could not have seemed to feel it as he. A true orator—an actor with brains.

His gestures, instead of following his words as a clumsy speaker's do, moved with them on the same impulse, spontaneous, unconscious, the outward index of the spirit. His voice swayed and swung, paused and hastened, glided over this, hurled itself on that, till it became an automatic commentary on his words and played on the hearts of men as a master plays on an organ. It was not a man saying words; it was thought, feeling and purpose coming out into words by themselves, and coming out in perfect harmony with each other. It was not a speech, but the revelation of a soul.

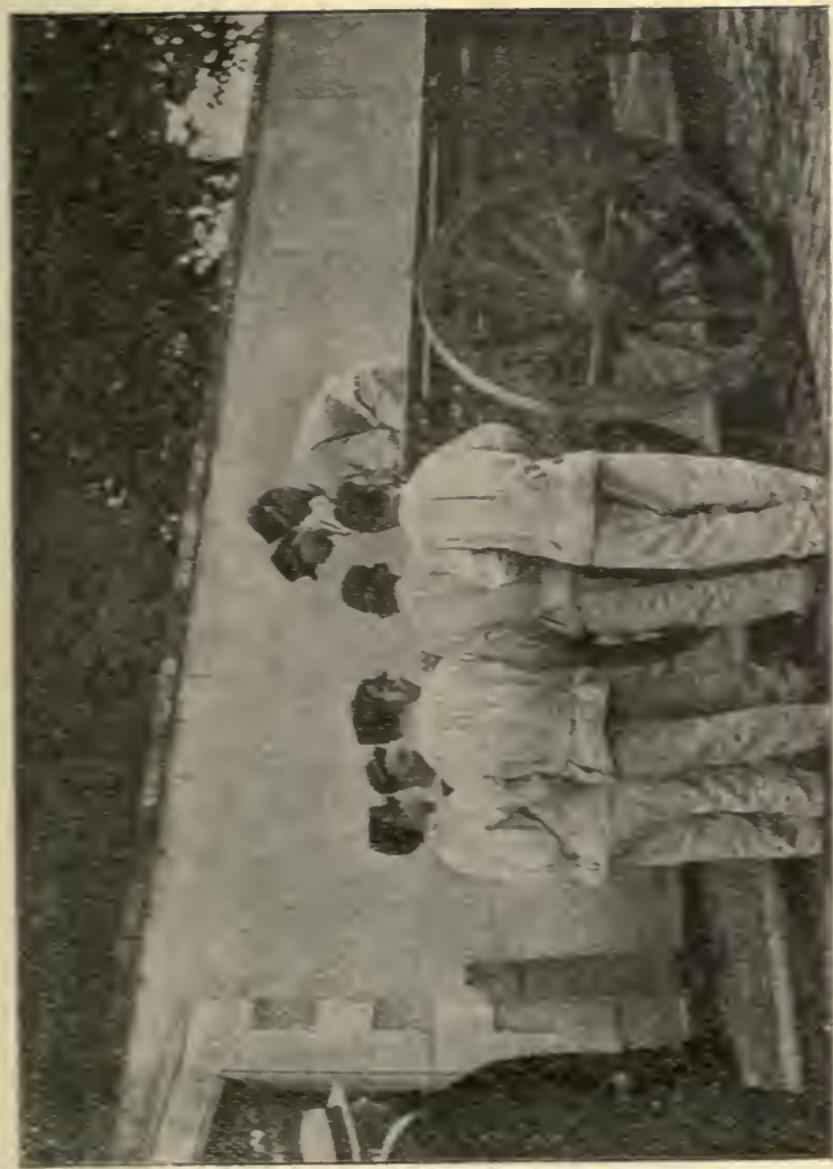
The witnesses came in and began to tell their uninteresting stories. But before the second had stood down the air was suddenly quivering with

combat. Labori was now fighting, and in a twinkle the whole aspect of the case was changed. For twelve days the generals had been ponderously attacking; an hour of Labori and they were suddenly on their defense. As the witness enters and begins his tale the advocate is lying rather than sitting in the arm-chair they have given him, one of the lowest heads in court, instead of the highest, as he had been the first day; his whole aspect spells lassitude.

The witness goes on; he slowly sits up and crouches his head close over the table, like a lion watching his prey. The witness finishes; slowly, slowly the great form upheaves itself, bent nearly double over the table. His turn to question is just coming; he raises himself erect and towers.

And then he springs. His voice is gentle, reasonable, persuasive, but he swoops on the vital part.

Did Major Rollin translate the Schneider forgery? No. That question should be gone into with closed doors, says the commissary of the government, and like a flash comes Labori's parry. It was General Mercier, not he, who introduced Colonel Schneider's name and letter; then, none contradicting him, he goes on his way. Can Major Rollin tell him whom he is to



The famous secret *dossier* being brought to the "greffe" of the military court in an iron safe, under supervision of a secret police agent, August 5.



question about the translation? No. Then what is the worth of documents which we cannot see, which we may not discuss, for which it is impossible to know who is responsible?

A second to feel the blow, but not to recover from it, and then—gently, persuasively—how did General Mercier come by his copy of this document? General Mercier will not reply.

“Mr. President, I insist!” says Labori.

The generals gasp; here, suddenly, is a man who insists. “I allow myself to insist”—the gentle voice is rising—“that questions put very respectfully and with great prudence shall be answered. We want complete light. I insist”—the voice has swollen to a roar—“I insist upon General Mercier answering, for I have a right to an answer.”

Stupefaction; no help from the court; no prompting from friends; General Mercier takes the responsibility. It is a heavy one. Then, swiftly, mercilessly:—“I ask by what right General Mercier has in his possession all the secret documents?” No answer.

“I insist!”

“But General Mercier will not answer,” says the president.

“But the law!” thunders Labori. “There is a law on espionage! When this document came

into the bureau General Mercier was no longer minister. It is a crime!"

Five minutes of time—a score of sentences sharp as rapiers, crushing as sledge hammers—and the Dreyfus case is turned clean round. Five minutes ago Mercier was the accuser. Now he sits silent, the accused—accused under that very law on espionage which he was pressing against Dreyfus. The advocate has made no change in the evidence, but he has put the other side in the wrong.

Henceforth there is only one man in the room, but he fills it—the man who insists. The spectators watch him and hold their breath when he rises to speak. The court sits and listens to his smashing blows in silence, as if he were an uncontrollable force of nature. The prosecutor sits paralyzed. The generals lay their heads together. The witnesses give evidence with one eye on the court and the other on the cross examiner. The very gendarmes wake and follow the trial. The very soldiers of the guard outside bunch together, creep nearer and peer into the hall at the man who insists.

The Dreyfus case was Labori. He had all the doggedness of Mercier, the subtlety of Roget, the clearness of Picquart, the passion of Dreyfus himself.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### IN AND ABOUT RENNES.

Somewhat out of the direct path of the tourist, but within easy access of Dinard and St. Servan, lies Rennes, that handsome episcopal city of some 70,000 inhabitants where the second Dreyfus court-martial is now being held. The place seems well adapted for such a purpose. The headquarters of the Tenth army corps, yet isolated from any great industrial center, and far removed from Paris, Rennes would not easily lend itself to any stupendous outburst of national feeling. Priests and churches are numerous in Rennes, and the lawyers fairly bristle there, but in spite of the many prosperous-looking shops to be seen in every turn, trade—so the inhabitants are fond of assuring a stranger—is at a low ebb. There is certainly very little outlet for industrial labor. The arsenal gives employment to many, and there are various other industries, but with the exception of a large publishing and book-binding firm these latter are insignificant.

The line to Rennes runs through one of the

most luxuriously wooded parts of Brittany. Trees in tens of thousands, bowing under their weight of rich foliage, hedge the glowing fields, throw long, interlacing branches over the streams, overshadow the peaceful roads and lanes, and run riot through many a picturesque homestead and radiant farmhouse garden. Suddenly there comes a break amidst the trees, and a fair green plain unfolds itself to the view—and soon imposing buildings, in somewhat scattered profusion, proclaim arrival at Rennes. The train makes a wide detour before reaching the railway station, and as the roofs, domes, spires and towers of this stately, clean, uncrowded city pass in pleasant review before the eye—the colossal gilt angel, situated in close proximity to the cardinal archbishop's palace, spreading wide wings to the sky—it is impossible to behold without admiring. A Scot will probably see a resemblance to Edinburgh. The cathedral is in the Pantheon style, and has two conspicuous towers. The Palais de Justice is a fairly handsome building, but more remarkable for its collection of paintings and carved work than for any architectural beauty.

The railway station is a large one, and just outside its gates several wide boulevards merge into a place of quite large enough dimensions

for the assemblage of a dangerous rabble. To this point the various electric tramways which intersect the city converge. This electric tram-car system was completed two years ago, and for many months was a source of enormous interest to the inhabitants. There have been serious accidents with these cars, and it would be astonishing if the reverse were the case considering the extreme rapidity at which they are driven.

But for some time Rennes has renounced its normal somnolence. The erstwhile peaceful cafes wear an unwonted appearance of animation, and low murmurs of tranquil conversation, and the peaceful whistling of the night wind through overhanging vines, have ceased to be the only interruptions to the mellifluous music of an attendant harp or violin. The eyes of Europe are now concentrated on Rennes, and her inhabitants feel that their native city has for a time at least assumed that most attractive of all qualities—a capacity for great possibilities. But it is to be hoped that none will come—at least of a sensational nature—and that if Rennes is fated to make a mark in the history of her country it will be only as the site of the last, and, we trust, happy, chapter of that strange, sad story which has been slowly unfolded to the world.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## PARDONING THE INNOCENT.

Soon after the Rennes verdict was known, it was rumored that President Loubet would pardon the prisoner. This was done September 19; and, strange coincidence! The same newspapers giving this announcement also made known the death of M. Scheuer-Kestner, president of the Senate, in 1897, who lost reputation and risked life, in the cause of justice for Dreyfus.

When Dreyfus heard of his friend's death, he said: "The thought gives me infinite sorrow that I will never be able to see the man who has done so much for me, or to thank him for his noble interest in my cause."

The pardon proved what was already quite surely known, that the whole Rennes trial was a play of clever politics to save the guilty officers of the French army. Paris received the news of the pardon as it did the news of the verdict, with absolute calm. The sensation was one of

relief in all circles. Even the Nationalists were glad to have it over.

### STILL DEMANDING JUSTICE.

George Clemenceau said:

"While we deeply appreciate President Loubet's pardon, we have not given up the battle. We have always demanded justice for Dreyfus and still demand justice." M. Jaures, the Socialist leader, spoke in the same tone. "We will continue to march in the way of light and truth. Justice must be done."

Maitre Demange expressed his gratification. The political aspect of the case never entered much into Demange's views. He has always wanted to save Dreyfus himself. "The greatest judicial error in a century has been repaired," said he. "I wish it had been a complete acquittal at Rennes. This is good. I am happy over it."

Emile Zola wrote to Mme. Dreyfus as follows:

"Dear Madame: Your husband and those who defended him have been exposed to the vilest insults and even to bodily injury. For my part there are organs belonging to the 'gutter press' and men so tainted with moral dirt that I have struck them from my life, from my memory. For me they are no more. I have driven them

completely from my thoughts, as if I never had already swallowed them.

"It is such forgetfulness of atrocious insults that I recommend to the innocent man who has suffered the wrongs. He is so much apart, so far above them all, that they should not be able to reach him.

"May he come to life again under your care, and under the clear sunshine of universal sympathy shown for him.

"Peace be to the martyr who has such need of repose, and around him now, in retreat, may there be nothing but love and caresses.

"As for us, madame, we shall continue the fight. We shall to-morrow go on with the struggle for justice, just as we pursued it yesterday. We shall exact rehabilitation of the innocent man, less for the sake of him, who has already so much glory, than for France, which would assuredly be killed by this excess of infamy.

"Our task will be the regeneration of France in the eyes of the universe, which will take place when the infamous judgment has been quashed. A great country cannot live without justice, and ours will remain in mourning just as long as the stain of insult is leveled at the highest jurisdiction and the violation of the most primitive rights shall remain.

### REPARATION TO BE MADE.

"The social fabric crumbles when the guarantee of law no longer exists, and there is in this violation of right such an element of insolence, and bravado so impudent, that we cannot ignore it. We cannot bury a body secretly without showing our shame to our neighbors. The whole world has seen and heard, and it is before the whole world that reparation should take place. To desire a France without honor is criminal.

"Without doubt foreigners will come to our exhibition. They will overflow Paris, just as numbers are attracted to a fair by the sound of music and the fire of lamps, but should that satisfy our pride? Should we not value esteem as highly as the money of the outside world?

"We shall exhibit our science, our art and our industry. Should we dare to exhibit our justice one can imagine Devil's Island reconstructed and exhibited. For me the shame of it is intolerable. I do not understand how the exhibition can be opened unless France takes her rank among the nations. When honor has been restored formally to the condemned man, honor will be restored to France—not before.

"Allow me to say in conclusion, madame, that you may depend on those who have restored to

your husband his freedom to restore to him his honor. Not one of us will give up the fight. We know well that we fight for justice and for our country. The splendid brother of the condemned man will again set the example of courage, wisdom and justice.

"We have not been able all at once to restore your husband to you, freed from lying accusations. We ask yet a little patience, trusting that your children will not be much older before their name shall be legally purged of all blemish.

#### PITY FOR THE CHILDREN.

"Poor children! I see them again in the arms of their father. I know with what jealous care, by what miracle of delicacy, you have kept them in complete ignorance. They believed their father away on a journey, and when they became inquisitive at long absence, what could you tell them when his innocence was as yet only believed in by one or two—your heart must have broken!

"But in these last few weeks, when his innocence was palpable to all, I could have wished that you had taken your two children by the hand and conducted them to the prison in Rennes, that they might have had forever in their minds the picture of their father's heroism.



#### M. BERTILLON, THE WRITING EXPERT, EXPLAINING HIS SYSTEM

M. Bertillon caused much amusement in Court by bringing with him a mass of papers and other things to assist him in his explanation of his system.



You could have told them all that he had unjustly suffered, what moral grandeur was his, with what tenderness they should love him in order to make him forget iniquitous men with their little souls.

"They would have benefited by this demonstration of manly virtue.

"It is not now too late. Some evening, under the lamp, and in the peace of family, their father can take them upon his knees and tell them the tragic history. It is necessary that they should know, in order that they may respect and adore him as he deserves. When he has spoken they will know that there is not in the world a greater hero-martyr, whose suffering has so profoundly touched men's hearts. They will be proud of him, and will bear his name with glory as the name of a very brave man, who has borne himself sublimely under the most frightful sufferings which fraud and cowardice could inflict.

"The day will come when the son and daughter, not of the condemned man, but of his persecutors, will have cause to blush. Accept, madame, my profoundest respect.

"EMILE ZOLA."

The following public announcement was made concerning the pardon :

186 Dreyfus and the Shame of France.

"The government of the republic has given me my liberty. But liberty is nothing to me without honor. From to-day I shall continue to seek reparation for the frightful judicial error of which I remain the victim.

"I wish France to know by definitive judgment that I am innocent. My heart will only be at rest when there remains not a single Frenchman who imputes to me the abominable crime perpetrated by another.

"ALFRED DREYFUS."

## CHAPTER XIX.

### DETAILS OF THE LIBERATION.

The manner in which Dreyfus was given his liberty was cleverly done. Mme. Dreyfus, warned in advance, took a friend of the family into her confidence. This friend went to a livery stable and asked that a carriage be placed at his disposition at 10 o'clock. Later, he returned to the stable and said he did not want the carriage until 3 o'clock in the morning, and he indicated the place where the carriage was to meet him. At the fixed hour the landau, which was the same which took Dreyfus to prison on the night of his arrival, stopped near the Place Mairie. The coachman was ordered to drive along the quays of the Canal Vilaine, and in passing, to stop at the Place Laennec, where Labori staid before he was shot, just at the angle of Rue St. Helier and the Boulevard Laennec. At this spot a valet made a sign to the coachman, who drew the carriage up to the sidewalk. It had hardly stopped before two people appeared, one of whom was Dreyfus, well wrapped up, and his hat over his

face. The other was a member of his family, Dreyfus having just slipped out of his military prison.

### LEAVES RENNES BEHIND HIM.

Both mounted the landau, the carriage made a sharp turn, and the horses galloped away from Rennes at full speed. As on the night of his arrival, the elements were troubled, and a driving rain splashed on the cobblestones of Rennes. Dreyfus shivered as he rode through the sharp night air.

Leaving Rennes the carriage took the route for the village of Vern, the first station on the line from Rennes to Chauteaubriand, on the way to Villamarie, the home of his sister. One reason why Dreyfus went to Villamarie is his great affection for his sister, who is twelve years older than he. She always was proud of his accomplishments, and instilled the precepts of integrity and honor in his mind early in life. The second reason was the unusual sympathy expressed by the people of this region. "Vive l'Armee" rarely is heard about Carpentras.

### TYPICAL OF SOUTHERN FRANCE.

Villamarie is a town typical of Southern France. It is hundreds of years old, picturesque, and

sleepy, and outside the rush of the world. It lies west of the main railroad line from Paris to Marseilles. The nearest city is Avignon, twenty miles distant, while Marseilles and the Mediterranean are within a few hours' travel.

All about are other villages, with white houses and flat roofs. Occasionally the ruins of ancient walls and fortified gateways of some old castles are seen. The fields are filled with vines and olive, fig and lemon trees. It is the garden of France.

Villamarie is a small estate of perhaps twenty-five acres, covered with trees and gardens of flowers. It is the country place of Dreyfus' sister, Mme. Valabregue, where she usually spends the summer. Since the condemnation of Dreyfus, she has remained there continuously in the strictest privacy, receiving nobody, going nowhere. The estate was not even kept in good order. The gardens and lawns showed signs of neglect. All were in mourning for Dreyfus.

Here Dreyfus met his children, whom he had not seen for five years.

The little ones came from Paris in charge of a relative. Their arrival made complete the happy family reunion.

It was a charming picture that was presented to the privileged callers. They saw Dreyfus seat-

ed on a large wicker chair in a glass inclosed shelter in front of the house, his children at his knees, and Mme. Dreyfus by his side, while gathered around him were Mathieu Dreyfus and various other members of the Valabregue and Hadamar families. The autumn weather was mellowed by the soft breezes of Southern France. The sun poured down brightest rays, that made the whole country radiant with natural beauty. It seemed to instill new life into the martyr, and added to the emotional joys of the day. It caused him to exclaim. "Is it true? It seems as though I were in a dream."

In this ideal retreat the remarkable romance comes to an end. Stranger, it is, indeed, than fiction, because the whole story is lamentably true. After a short rest, he authorized the following interview through one of the Paris correspondents:

#### KEPT IN IGNORANCE.

"And you never knew anything of what was being done in France for you?" I asked.

"Never a word. Not a single word. From time to time the rigors were redoubled. I know now that that coincided with the declarations of the ministers of war. Every time one of them ascended the rostrum and declared that I had

been justly and legally condemned, I felt the effects through the medium of my jailers. They cut off my food, or my reading, or my work, or my walk, or the sight of the sea, and, finally, moving about with the aid of the double "boucle."

"M. Mathieu Dreyfus regarded his brother with emotion.

"'Is it not awful,' he said. 'Happily, we knew nothing about it here, for our efforts would have been hampered thereby. If we had known that every step toward the truth brought him suffering, perhaps our ardor would have been diminished. But what pretext did your jailers give you?'

"'None, and I did not ask for any. I do not wish to be beholden to those people in any way. Besides, I did not wish to discuss my sentence or its execution in any way, for to discuss would have implied to recognize it.'

"These words are said with extraordinary firmness, almost harshness.

#### PUT HIM IN IRONS.

"'Yet, one day,' he went on, 'the day when they put irons on my feet, I asked the reason of the barbarous treatment. They replied: "Precautionary measure." It was the day following

that when a denial had been given of the bogus attempt to escape.

“Ah, I well remember that night. It was not 9 o’clock. I was in bed when I heard musketry fire and a great commotion around me. I sat up in bed and cried, “What is it? Who is there?” No one replied; my guard is silent. I do not stir, thanks to I know not what instinct. It was a good thing I did not, for I should have been instantly shot.’

“And so you imagined that General Boisdeffre was looking after your interests?”

“Yes, I see now that I was mistaken.”

#### DONE WITH THE ARMY.

“Would you re-enter the army if legally you had the right?”

“No; I will resign the very evening of my rehabilitation.”

“In short, do you think it has been an error or conspiracy?”

“I think that at the beginning, up to the time of the court-martial of 1894—that is to say, toward the end of this investigation—they believed—at least the majority of the persons connected with it—that I was guilty, but at the court-martial it was different.

“I am certain that from that moment, as they

felt they had made a mistake, they were afraid of being accused of carelessness, and they accumulated against me all kinds of machinations. The proof of this has been given by Captain Freystaetter.

#### RECALLS HIS HORROR.

"They have provided behind my back documents that they knew were false, in order to secure my condemnation. When Captain Freystaetter at Rennes uttered the words, "Panizzardi dispatch" in his calm tones, I shuddered."

"In telling me this Captain Dreyfus' eyes opened wide with a frightened kind of stare, and he moved toward me as if the better to impress on me the horror that he felt. I questioned him again.

"You speak in certain letters of your fear of madness. How, indeed, inactive as you were, ill in body and mind, without books, and not knowing what your fate would be, how did you succeed in warding off insanity?"

"In 1896 and 1897, as I had resolved to live, I removed from my table the photographs of my wife and children, the sight of whom made me suffer and weakened me. I no longer wished to see them, and I ended by only regarding them as symbols without the human figure, the thought

of which unnerved me too much. I did not want to weaken.

#### KEPT ALIVE BY DUTY.

“ ‘When one has a duty it must be accomplished to the end, and I wanted to live for my wife and children. It was the same during the trial at Rennes. When I was in so much need of strength—well, I would not re-read my diary of Devil’s Island so as not to unnerve myself and so preserve my energy, for (and he repeated this several times) when one has resolved to do one’s duty, one must go on to the end.’ His fist strikes the seat, giving emphasis to his words.

“ ‘Do you know,’ he continued, ‘what is most fatiguing in struggles like mine? It is a passive resistance. To have struggled like my brother for five years is indeed exhausting, but at least the effort leads to result. You move, go here and there, cry, but you act, while a passive resistance which mine had to be is more exhausting, and still more depressing because it exacts the effort of every minute in your life without resting a single minute. It is that, together with the lack of fresh air, which has exhausted me most.’

#### TELLS OF HIS PLANS.

“ ‘But you must have had terrible nightmares?’

"‘Oh, yes. I wrote them down in my diary afterward, but I could not recall them at present. When the guard heard me talking aloud in the night he would come to the foot of my bed and listen to my words in order to report them next day in his report to the governor.’"

"‘What are you going to do now, captain?’ I asked.

"‘To live alone with my wife and children henceforth. My children are my greatest joy on earth. The elder, it seems, remembers me. The girl was only a few months old in 1894, so I do not know her. I did not wish to see them at Rennes in order to leave the sad impression of the prison on their young minds. One should not darken a child’s imagination, but I am going to see them with great joy in two days’ time. I want to bring them up myself, and in common with their mother to supervise their instruction and education, because I am opposed to boarding schools.

"‘When my children were small it was a holiday for me to talk to them, to form them from their earliest age. Unfortunately, events did not permit, but I hope to catch up.’"

"After a while he asks me point blank: ‘Do you wish to know my opinion of the “affaire”?’"

and as we all laugh over this outburst he says to me, half serious, half gay:

“Well, the fact is, I do not yet understand how they could accuse me of such a crime.

### ONE OF THE CAUSES.

“In my dealings with my chiefs I always retained my outspokenness and independence. If a plan or any piece of work seemed to me to be badly conceived I did not hesitate to say so aloud, instead of considering myself obliged to approve everything in advance, as I saw done all around me, when it was a chief who spoke or acted.

### NOT HUMBLE ENOUGH.

“I know that people do not like that. Colonel Bertin Merout said something with deep meaning at Rennes, speaking of that admirable man, that hero, Colonel Picquart. It was felt that this officer did not walk behind the chiefs. That is their psychology and all their morality.

“Walk behind the chiefs, as if it were in war or at the maneuvers? Yes, certainly, but when it is a question of honor and duty is there any need to walk behind anyone? Has one not one's own conscience?”

“The hour for luncheon was approaching. We reach La Roche-Sur-Yon. They brought us

some well-stocked baskets, containing hard-boiled eggs, cold meat, two biscuits, some chocolate, some white wine, mineral water and two little flasks of quinine and rum.

"Mathieu wanted to prevent Alfred eating the meats. 'You know quite well that Delbet forbade you.'

"'What does it matter for once? To-morrow I will be good, but to-day is a holiday. Be easy; I feel so well. It is like a new life'—and Mathieu Dreyfus agrees to everything like a good-natured parent to a loved child, whom he wishes to restore to health.

#### DENOUNCES ESTERHAZY.

"The conversation now prattled, on everything at haphazard.

"'And Esterhazy—what do you think of him?'

"In quiet, measured accents, slightly doubtful, ever like a savant propounding a hypothesis, Dreyfus replied:

"'I think he is a swindler, a chevalier d'industrie, who has swindled his country—it is not even his country—just as he swindled his cousin and tradesmen, but without in the least realizing that he did so. He wanted money. That was the motive, for,' he continued with animation, 'for every crime there must be a motive.'

" 'What could it have been in my case? No one ever saw me touch a card, so I was not a gambler.

" 'It was said that I had led a fast life. How can you explain, then, that I took the ninth place on leaving the college? Don't people know what arduous work these examinations mean? How can work be allied with debauch?

" General Mercier said that the search for the motive for a crime belonged to the domain of psychology, and that we were on the judicial "domain." What does that mean?

" I was never in the law, but it seems to me that the first thing to be done when one suspects a criminal is to discover the motive for his crime. That is what I call sound sense.'

" He shrugged his shoulders, and his grave voice rose high in the silence of the stopped train. Then, lowering his voice, he repeated several times, accentuating each word: 'Sound sense. Simple, sober sense.

### PAIN OF THE VERDICT.

" As to the theory of the court-martial upon the extenuating circumstances, it is just like this. Treason against his country is the greatest crime a human being can commit. A murderer, a

thief, may find some excuse for themselves; their crime is one against an individual. Treason is a crime against collectivity. There are no extenuating circumstances. It is a monstrosity.'

"'What effect did the verdict have upon you?'

"The voice was at once lowered and sadly he said: 'It was first of all intense anguish, then stupefaction, then very comforting when I learned that two officers had had the courage to declare me entirely innocent. I swear that those two brave officers were right.'

"I had a few words with him as to the present state of his mind. He says to me:

"'I have been the victim of ideas. I feel no bitterness. I nourish no hatred for those who have wronged me so deeply. I feel only pity for them. What we must know is that never again can such misfortune befall any man.'

"I ask him: 'Are you aware of the intensity of feelings that your misfortune has aroused? You know that people hate you, but you know that there are many others whose hearts have bled for your sufferings.'

"'I cannot take it myself. I represent in the eyes of sensitive people part of the human suffering, but part only, and I understand perfectly that it is the kindness of my fellow beings which moved them at this symbol I personify.'

### WILL NOT GO ABROAD.

" 'Do you intend to live here?'

" 'Yes, until my health is restored, and I have completely rested. I would not go abroad as I had intended to do, as the reception I might have received would have had the air of reprisals against the country, and I could not make up my mind for that.'

" 'I did not ask for a pardon,' he said, 'but I accept it as an alleviation of my sufferings and that of my wife, for we both need a little respite. But this pardon in no way affects my resolution to seek my rehabilitation. I will not know either insult or menace; I will know no weakness—I mean mental weakness. Must not the soul dominate over the body?'"

### DREYFUS' GRATITUDE TO AMERICA.

Captain Dreyfus, referring to the messages of sympathy cabled to him from the United States, said :

"Already my brother Mathieu has thanked, in my name, the governors, senators, congressmen, men of letters, and humanitarians, whose consoling words were sent to me by cable. The fact that they are all personally unknown to me

sharpens my appreciation of their valued words of hope and encouragement.

"I have learned that in America there are no anti-Dreyfusards, as my opponents are called. The day is not far distant when there will be none in France. What a change from the time when so many believed me guilty of an abominable crime!

"I have also been informed that the Americans without exception advocated the justice of my cause. There is a keen and highly developed sense of justice in America. It seems to be in the American people as naturally as the sun shines. They love to exercise it themselves, and they bring pressure upon others to practice it.

"It is this strong sense of justice which gives liberty its plentitude of meaning in the United States. Liberty cannot flourish where justice does not obtain high ideals. A proper appreciation of honor and a strict sense of justice enable nations to rise to great things and individuals to endure many things.

#### TELLS OF DEVIL'S ISLAND.

"You ask me about my life on the Isle du Diable. It baffles description. I shall be forty years old next month. Imagine having been forced to

pass an eighth of one's life upon a rock in the ocean.

"It was worse than being buried alive. My physical pain was intense. My mental tortures were still worse.

"I could not sleep. I arose at 6 o'clock. It was refreshing to life my aching body from the rough bed. The day wore on, wearily and painfully. I was guarded by eight men, who looked upon me as a beast.

"Hostile eyes were ever upon me. Not for a moment did that undisguised hostility diminish. There were no eyes of affection near enough to vary the monotony.

"Nature made that island inhospitable enough. Art rendered it an abomination. Hot air made breathing unpleasant.

"Some of my faculties must have starved there. The exquisite delight which trees, flowers, wood, and water give me now probably arises from the fact that the faculties which enable a man to appreciate landscape lay dormant in me so long that they must have reverted to those of a child. They would doubtless soon be dead.

"The starvation did not stop with the esthetic faculties. Books were difficult to get. Mme. Dreyfus was allowed to send some occasionally. These formed a sort of communication between

us. I felt I was reading the page upon which her sorrowful eyes looked. The thought made my cup less bitter.

"Let us not talk of the iron cage of the Palisade, of the double buckle. Better forget them and let their memory haunt some one else.

"Did I have hope? I don't think I ever lost it, even in the blackest hour. The duty I had before me buoyed me up, and I think certain independence of character which I inherited helped me through it all. I was fully alive to the obligation I owed to my wife, my children, my family, my name, and, indeed, to France.

"Though lepers were my predecessors in the Isle du Diable I don't think you will find a single note of despair in all the many letters I wrote my wife from that sterile rock.

"From the day that I wrote 'help me against the abominable attack upon my honor,' I never lost hope.

#### NO THOUGHT OF RESCUE.

"My hope was never based upon any wild notions of rescue. I never thought of this. I would not have accepted such a way to freedom if offered.

"To me this place is dear. I am not a stranger here. It has early and happy associations for

me. My sister, Mme. Valabregue, has lived here for thirty years. I was inscribed as a voter in this electoral division. It was here also that my vocation for the army was confirmed, for when my sister found I had no taste for commerce she said there should be at least one officer in our family.

"And the future? How can I discuss it? I must grow stronger here. I mean to stay as long as I can amid these pleasant surroundings and where recollections of that part of my past which was happy come back to me.

"Severity of weather may force me to a softer climate. The physicians will decide what I need most. Already I hear hints of the Mediterranean.

#### WORK FOR REHABILITATION.

"That, however, is a small matter. The chief thing in the future, as it has been in the past, is to complete my rehabilitation. This has been the aim of my life since the first condemnation. People may say I do not need this, that in the eyes of the whole world no stain rests upon my name. Moral rehabilitation is good. Legal rehabilitation will give the former a sanction which cannot be gainsaid.

"The exact mode of procedure rests with my lawyers. It will doubtless come under the law

for the reparation of judicial errors. New facts will be found and the request made to have the case brought before the Court of Cassation.

"Anti-Semitic agitation! Such agitation should never exist. There is nothing more narrow-minded and unreasonable than the persecution of a people because of the race to which they belong. People must belong to some race. Those who deny their own are unworthy.

"My trial has made people think, and will doubtless stop many from blindly persecuting our race. This I do know, that had I not been born a Jew I should not have had to endure the tortures of the Isle du Diable,"

—THE END—









JUL 26 1985

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